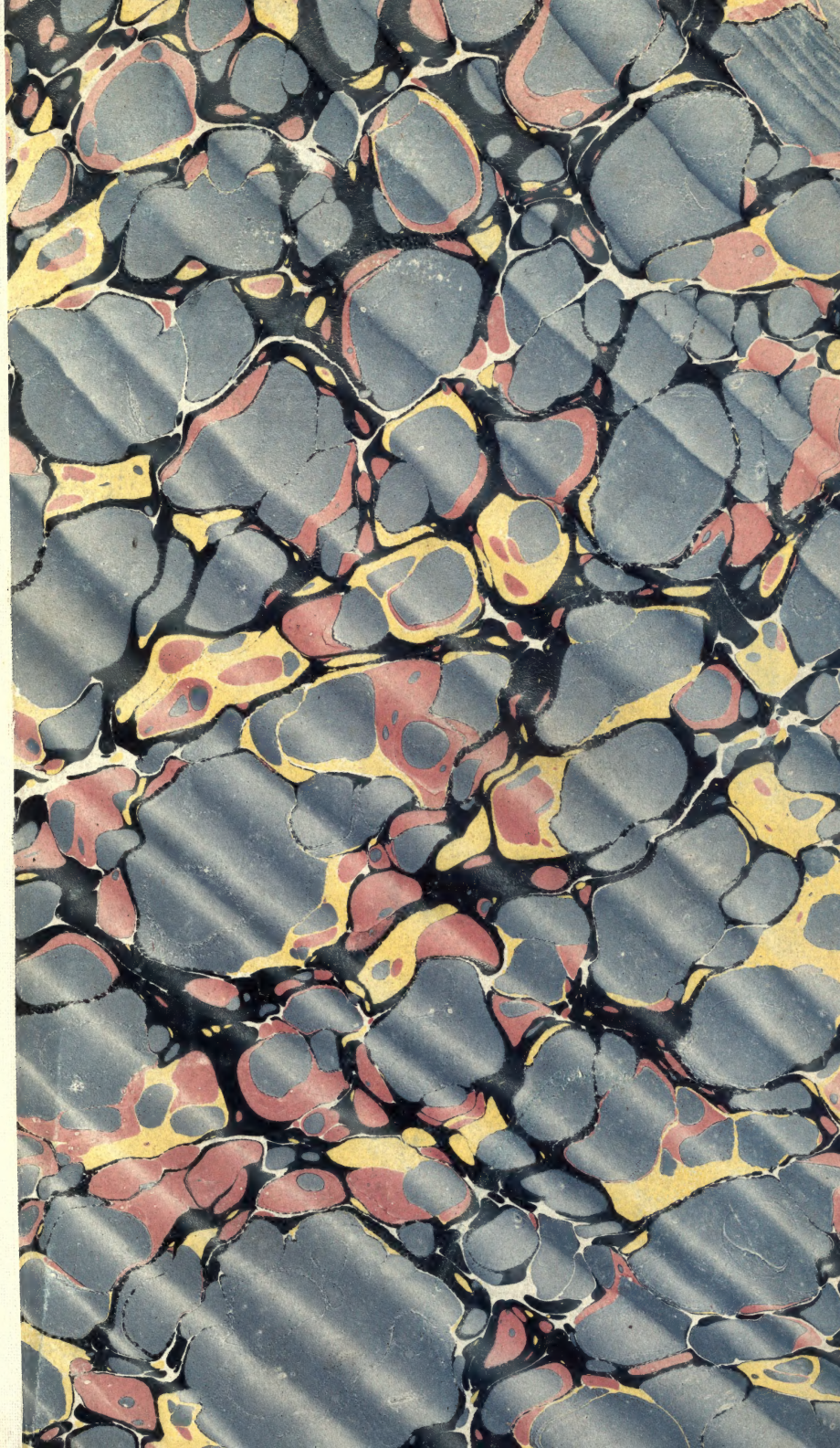






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PICTORIAL LIFE

ANDREW JACKSON



JOHN P. GALT & CO.

NEW YORK

1851

PICTORIAL
L I F E
OF
ANDREW JACKSON.

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WILLIAM CROOME.

BY JOHN FROST, LL.D.

“Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom
the history of the great men who have worked here.”—CARLYLE

HARTFORD:
WM. JAS. HAMERSLEY.

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P R E F A C E .

A LIFE of GENERAL JACKSON, written so soon after his decease as the present, may be thought premature. Perhaps in some respects it is so. There are many points in which posterity alone will be able to appreciate his merits, and do justice to his claims. But with respect to the great elements of his character, and the leading actions of his life, all parties seem now to be agreed. The number of those who will deny his ability as a soldier, or his purity, disinterestedness, and instinctive foresight as a statesman, is comparatively small. Many of those able and distinguished men who deemed it their duty to oppose his leading political measures, always regarded him, while living, with respect, and still cherish his memory with reverence. It may therefore be confidently hoped that an attempt to give an impartial biography of him may be received with candour by the great mass of his countrymen.

In the present attempt, the writer has dwelt chiefly on that part of General Jackson's life respecting

which there is no controversy, viz: his brilliant military career. In the narrative of his political life, little more has been attempted than a succinct statement of facts. Later biographers will be enabled to do him ampler justice, by tracing the beneficial effects of his political measures into remoter times.

For the events of the Creek war, and the defence of New Orleans, the writer is chiefly indebted to the copious and able biography of General Jackson written by his friend Major Eaton, whose access to the best means of information is undoubted. The other authorities are cited in the work. The pictorial embellishments of the book are chiefly from the prolific pencil of Mr. Croome, whose merits are well known to the public.

The author has found his esteem and reverence for the character of General Jackson to be constantly increasing, with the extent of the researches which this work has required him to make; and he believes, that popular as the subject of this memoir always has been, his favour with the American people is destined still to increase, so long as the Republic shall continue to exist.

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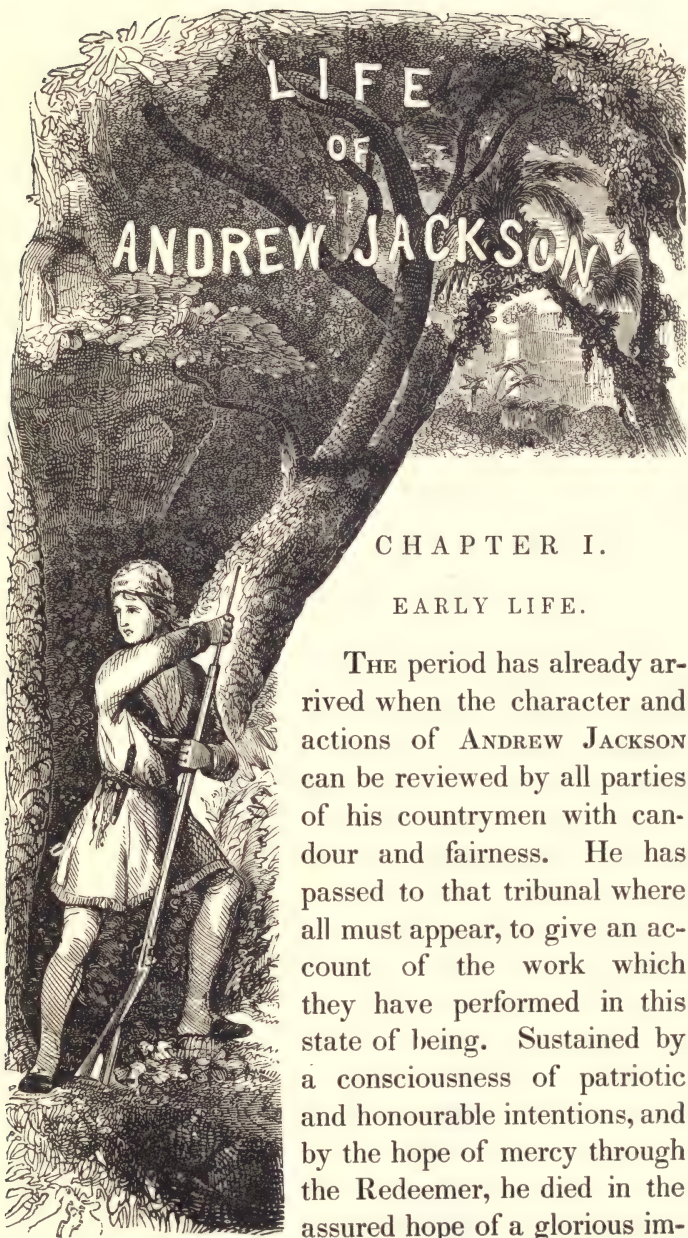
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CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE.

THE period has already arrived when the character and actions of ANDREW JACKSON can be reviewed by all parties of his countrymen with candour and fairness. He has passed to that tribunal where all must appear, to give an account of the work which they have performed in this state of being. Sustained by a consciousness of patriotic and honourable intentions, and by the hope of mercy through the Redeemer, he died in the assured hope of a glorious im-

mortality. His countrymen mourned his loss with unaffected and universal sorrow. They have already begun to realize that he was a man of that character and calibre of which one example in an age is all that we can hope for. As time rolls on he will be more highly appreciated. Another war with England, and another threatened dismemberment of the Union, whenever they come, will cause men to look back upon the past, and to wish that another Jackson might arise to guide our armies, and preserve the unity of the Republic. But such events are not necessary to direct attention to his merits. The eager spirit of inquiry which is beginning to show itself respecting the past history of the country and its leading men, will cause every action of Jackson's life to be thoroughly scrutinized. And they will bear the scrutiny. It will appear that he was thoroughly disinterested and patriotic in every public act; that he was so admirably just and noble in his private relations that he became in every circle where he moved the delight of his friends; that he had, like a true and faithful American statesman, a thorough faith in the people, a thorough sympathy with the people; and that through these qualities, he became, more than any other since the Father of his Country, the favourite hero of the people.

The present attempt to sketch the leading events of his life has been undertaken from a conviction of his real greatness, and from the writer's assent to the doctrine which is thus eloquently laid down by one who has made heroes his study :

“Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom, the History

of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and, in a wide sense, creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and imbodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these.

"Great men, taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him.

"He is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world: and this not a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them."

If the doctrine of Carlyle is applicable as a general rule, it is specially applicable in the case of Jackson. His life is full of instruction for his countrymen. It speaks volumes in proof of the genial influence of free institutions in developing real genius and providing for it a grand theatre of action. The unprotected orphan, without family, friends, fortune, or even a finished education, rising by regular gradations, and always by the unsought suffrages of his countrymen, from a private station to the highest civil and military rank which the nation could bestow, affords a subject

of proud contemplation to the American patriot, and a lesson full of instruction for every child of the republic.

This broad fact is not more instructive than the many details which it embraces. The several actions in Jackson's life afford examples for the guidance of his countrymen. They show the irresistible strength which heaven has granted to an honest purpose. They show the homage which men pay to an iron will, based upon the consciousness of right intentions. They show the value of moral courage. They show that the safeguard of the republic consists in a right understanding between its really great men and the millions whom they are destined to lead on to victory and national prosperity. The biography of such men as Andrew Jackson is a profitable study.

THE multiplied wrongs inflicted upon the people of Ireland by their haughty rulers, the fearful oppression which for ages they had endured, are matters familiar to the most superficial reader of their history. Their sufferings at home caused the eyes of many of the Irish patriots to be turned at an early period to the American colonies; and numbers availed themselves of the asylum offered by the wilds of America, to secure peace to themselves and their children. Among the emigrants from the Emerald Isle, previous to the war of Independence, was Andrew Jackson, the father of him whose actions form our theme. He arrived at Charleston in the year 1765, accompanied by his wife,

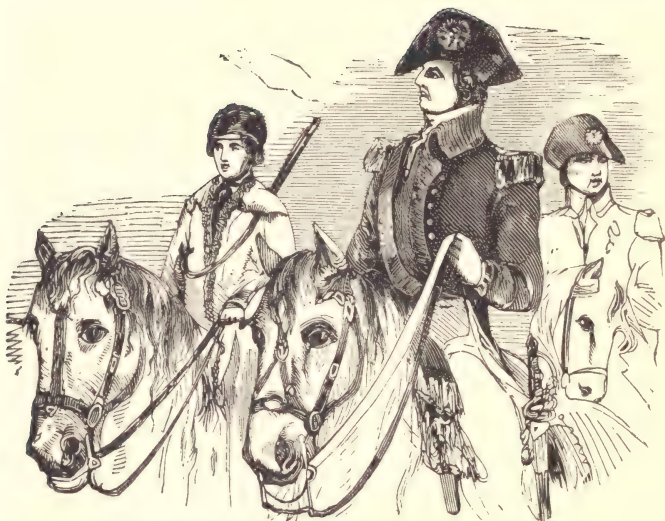
and two sons, Hugh and Robert, both quite young. He fixed his residence at the Waxhaw settlement, distant from Camden about forty-five miles; where he purchased a plantation, and where he hoped to spend his old age in peace. It was here, on the 15th of March, 1767, that his third son, Andrew, was born. The father was not destined to behold even the earlier glories of the future hero of the west; about the close of the year which witnessed the birth of his youngest son, he passed to brighter scenes in another and happier world.

By this sudden bereavement, the care of educating the three boys devolved upon Mrs. Jackson; a lady who appears to have been eminently qualified for the task. The two elder children, who were intended for a situation in life similar to that occupied by their father, received their education at a country school, where they acquired only the simpler branches of learning. But Andrew, her youngest and darling child, was intended by his fond parent to fill a more conspicuous station in life. Her plans, however, were far from being realized in his future career of glory; although the position for which she intended him was one of honour and usefulness. His superior abilities pointed out a professional life as the one best suited to his nature; and the pious mother decided that he should be educated for the pulpit. Under the tuition of a gentleman named Humphries, who taught an academy in the Waxhaw meeting-house, Andrew commenced his classical studies. He pursued them for some time with ardour and success, until the commencement of the American Revolution disturbed his peaceful avocations, and from the

academy he was suddenly hurried into those fearful and bloody scenes which marked the partisan warfare of the Carolinas. In this severe school he was to receive the training which gave him that unflinching military courage, and stout, unfailing promptitude of action which characterized his after life. We may figure to ourselves the future pioneer of the west in those his early days, relieving the monotony of his classical studies by frequent excursions in the surrounding forests; where the rifle and the hunting-knife became his boyhood's playthings; the parroquets and wild deer of those Carolinian woods the targets of practice for that unerring aim which was afterward to make him the dread of the murderous savage. He was now commencing that rough training which was to be perfected in the Revolutionary contest. Born but two years after the Stamp Act was passed, his childhood had passed away while the statesmen of America had been contesting the great questions on which the Revolution was based, and conducting it in the council chamber to that point when recourse was had to the final arbiter of national quarrels, the sword. The battle of Lexington had been fought, and the echo of its din had reached the wilds of the Waxhaws without exciting immediate alarm. Later, the defeat of the British at Charleston had been borne to the distant cottage of our hero's mother, on the wings of rumour, and had brought the cheering assurance that for the present her fire-side would be safe from the brutality of British soldiers. Next came the news that Independence was declared; and the young heart of Jackson exulted in the consciousness that he had a country. No longer a mere

colonist, he was destined to be a free citizen of the soil on which he was born ; and when the din of arms came nearer, and the foot of the invader was already on Carolinian ground, he had become old enough and strong enough to shoulder the partisan rifle, to mount his horse, and become one of those wild rangers of the forest whose ubiquity and valour were alike the dread of Tarleton, Rawdon, and Cornwallis.





Jackson accompanying Marion and Davie in the Southern War.

CHAPTER II.

SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTION.



HE storm which for many years had been gathering in the political horizon of the colonies of America, and whose first fury burst upon the devoted heads of the patriots of Lexington, began in 1778 to agitate

the southern portion of the confederacy; and the peaceful pursuits of the inhabitants were relinquished for the din of arms. While many of them, influenced

by fear or interest, turned a deaf ear to the demands of patriotism and joined the royal standard, the sons of Mrs. Jackson ranged themselves under the banner of their country, and staked their lives and their all in the struggle for liberty. Their natural ardour, and attachment to the American cause, was not a little increased by the remembrance of the injuries suffered by their ancestors; and to their zeal for freedom was added a deep and abiding detestation of British tyranny. Their grandfather had been one of the devoted Irish patriots, who vainly struggled to free their country from the yoke of the oppressor; and at the siege of Carrickfergus he had laid down his life for his country. His wrongs and his melancholy fate had formed the frequent subject of the mother's eloquent descriptions; and the lofty patriotism and fervent devotion to the cause of civil liberty with which she inspired her sons, laid the foundation of that elevated and heroic character which marked the subsequent career of Jackson.

While Generals Lincoln, Gates, and Greene commanded in succession the main force of the Americans in the Carolinas, which had now become the chief theatre of war, the detachments who harassed the enemy in partisan warfare were under the direction of Marion, Sumpter, Pickens, and Davie. These leaders were engaged in breaking up the smaller forts of the British, or in repairing losses sustained by action. The troops which followed their fortunes, on their own or their friends' horses, were armed with rifles, in the use of which they had become expert; a small portion only who acted as cavalry being provided with

sabres. When they approached the enemy they dismounted, leaving their horses in some hidden spot to the care of a few comrades. Victorious or vanquished, they flew to their horses, and thus improved victory or secured retreat. Their marches were long and toilsome, seldom feeding more than once a day. Their combats were like those of the Parthians, sudden and fierce, their decisions speedy, and all subsequent measures equally prompt.

“Marion,” says Lee in his memoirs, “was about forty-eight years of age, small in stature, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious, and taciturn. Enthusiastically attached to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the doleful condition of his beloved country. The common weal was his sole object ; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary soiled his ermine character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived ; and retiring to those hidden retreats, selected by himself, in the morasses of Pedee and Black River, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends. A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart ; and during the difficult course of warfare through which he passed, calumny itself never charged him with violating the rights of person, property, or of humanity. Never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it ; and acting for all around him as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when it was necessary. Never elated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which won the admiration of his friends, and exacted the respect of his enemies.”



Marion and his men.

“Sumpter,” says the same authority, “was younger than Marion, larger in frame, better fitted in strength of body to the toils of war, and, like his compeer, devoted to the freedom of his country. His aspect was manly and stern, denoting insuperable firmness and lofty courage. He was not over scrupulous as a soldier in the use of means, and apt to make considerable allowances for a state of war. Believing it warranted by the necessity of the case, he did not occupy his mind with critical examinations of the equity of his measures, or of their bearings on individuals; but indiscriminately pressed forward to his end—the destruction of his enemy and the liberation of his country. In his military character he resembled Ajax; relying

more upon the fierceness of his courage than the results of unrelaxing vigilance and nicely adjusted combination. Determined to deserve success, he risked his own life and the lives of his associates without reserve. Enchanted with the splendour of victory, he would wade in torrents of blood to attain it. This general drew about him the hardy sons of the upper and middle grounds, brave and determined like himself, familiar with difficulty, and fearless of danger."

Pickens and Davie, with less experience in war than Marion and Sumpter, were equally brave, determined, and devoted to the cause of liberty; they persevered to the last, and contributed greatly to that success which was the first object of their efforts.* It was to this partisan force that Andrew Jackson became attached in his first campaign. This was the school in which the future hero of Talladega and Tohopeka received the rudiments of his military education. His eldest brother, Hugh, preceded him in entering on the life of a soldier. After the fall of Savannah, December, 1778, the British invaded South Carolina (1779), and Hugh attached himself to a company commanded by Captain Davie, afterwards Colonel Davie, which joined the army of General Lincoln, engaged in the defence of the state. In the unsuccessful attack of General Lincoln on the British at Stono (20th June, 1779), Hugh Jackson lost his life. He died, however, not from wounds, but from the effects of heat and fatigue.

In the succeeding campaign (1780), the war was

* Lee's Memoirs.



General Lincoln.

brought to the very doors of Mrs. Jackson's residence, in consequence of the surrender of Charleston by General Lincoln (May 12th.) This blow, for the moment, completely paralyzed all the Southern States, and carried dismay into every part of the union. So confident was Sir Henry Clinton of ultimate success in completely conquering the Southern States, if not the Northern, that after accepting the parole of the

prisoners of war taken at Charleston, he issued proclamations requiring them all to take up arms in the royal cause, threatening heavy vengeance in case of their refusal. In the meanwhile he had undertaken three expeditions, with the object of clearing the country of all the remaining forces of the Americans—the first and most considerable under Lord Cornwallis, towards the frontiers of North Carolina; the second to the district called Ninety-Six, on the southwest side of the river Santee; and the third up the Savannah river, towards Augusta, where General Lincoln had left a garrison.

Lord Cornwallis had not gone far, when he received intelligence that Colonel Buford, who had arrived too late to be able to throw succour into Charleston, had taken post on the banks of the Santee, with a considerable body of horse and foot. He instantly detached his ablest and most savage cavalry officer, Colonel Tarleton, who made a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, surprised Buford at the Waxhaws, and completely routed his band. Buford, a few of the cavalry, and about one hundred infantry, effected their retreat; the remainder surrendered, and were nearly all butchered by order of the inhuman Tarleton. This affair was bitterly remembered during the rest of the war under the name of "*Tarleton's Quarter.*" A British writer, in speaking of it, says, "Tarleton, who was a sort of partisan officer, who made war like a guerilla, and whose legion was composed of the desperadoes of the army, never preserved that degree of discipline which was common to the rest of the army: his own character, the charac-

CHARLESTON AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.



ter of his men, and the desperate, dare-devil service on which they were almost constantly employed, were irreconcilable with the milder spirit and gentler habits of troops of the line, kept constantly under the eye of the commander-in-chief and staff. On the present occasion, their victory seems to have been disgraced by a slaughter, which was the less pardonable, as their own loss was so very trifling, amounting only to five killed and fifteen wounded."

The wounded survivors of this dreadful massacre* were brought into the Waxhaw meeting-house, and taken care of by the inhabitants; and Andrew Jackson's mother and himself were among the most active and humane in this labour of love and patriotism.

Clinton's two other detachments saw no enemy on their march; but they received the submission of the inhabitants, who either gave their paroles to the commanding officers, or took the oath of allegiance.

The events which succeeded the massacre at the Waxhaws, are thus described by Lee:

"The calm which succeeded this sweeping success of the enemy continued uninterrupted; and Cornwallis, shortly after Buford's defeat, advanced a corps of light infantry to the Waxhaw settlement, inhabited by

* "By the official report, 113 were killed, 150 so badly wounded as to be paroled on the ground, most of whom died, and 53 being capable of moving, graced the entry of the sanguinary corps into Camden, at which place Lord Cornwallis had arrived. In the annals of our Indian wars, nothing is to be found more shocking; and this bloody day only wanted the war-dance and the roasting fire to have placed it in the records of torture and death in the west."—*Lee's Memoirs*.

citizens whose love of country remained unshaken even by these shocks.

“This settlement is so called from the Waxhaw creek, which passes through it, and empties itself into the Catawba. Brigadier Rutherford, of North Carolina, hearing of the advance of this corps, assembled eight hundred of the militia, with a determination to protect the country. His troops can scarcely be said to have been armed; they generally had fowling pieces instead of muskets and bayonets, pewter instead of lead, with a very trifling supply of powder. Information of this assemblage being sent to Camden, the British detachment was recalled, and this valued settlement, rich in soil, and abounding in produce, was for this time happily released. The repose which the district enjoyed, in consequence of the abandonment of the station at the Waxhaws, was of short duration. So ardent was the zeal of the disaffected, and so persuaded were they that the rebellion in the south was crushed, that their desire to manifest their loyalty could not be repressed.

“A large body of loyalists collected under Colonel Moore, at Armsaour’s Mill, on the 22d of June; among whom were many who had not only taken the oath of allegiance to the state, but had served in arms against the British army. Rutherford lost no time in taking his measures to bring Moore to submission. But so destitute was he of ammunition, that only three hundred men could be prepared for the field. This detachment was intrusted to Colonel Locke, who was ordered to approach the enemy and watch his motions, while Rutherford continued to exert himself in pro-

curing arms for the main body to follow under his own direction.

Moore, finding an inferior force near to him, determined to attack it, in which decision he was gallantly anticipated by Locke, who perceiving the enemy's purpose, and knowing the hazard of retreat, fell upon Moore in his camp. Captain Fall, with the horse, led, and rushing suddenly, sword in hand, into the midst of the insurgents, threw them into confusion, which advantage Locke pressed forward to improve, when he suspended the falling blow in consequence of Colonel Moore proposing a truce for an hour, with the view of amicable adjustment. During the negotiation, Moore and his associates dispersed, which appears to have been their sole object in proposing the suspension of hostilities.

The cheering intelligence of the unmolested advance of the three detachments to Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Camden, the establishment of submission and professions of loyalty, which were every where proffered by the inhabitants, crowned by the destruction of Buford, extirpating all continental resistance, confirmed the long indulged persuasions in the breast of Sir Henry Clinton, that he had reannexed Georgia and South Carolina to the British empire. He now determined, as his final act, to bolt doubly his conquest. On the 3d of June he issued his last proclamation, undoing of his own accord a very important condition established in his first, without consulting, much less receiving, the assent of the party who had accepted the terms proffered therein. He declared to the inhabitants who had, in pursuance of his pledged



Sir Henry Clinton.

faith, taken parole, that with the exception of the militia surrendered at Charleston, such paroles were not binding after the 20th of the month, and that persons so situated should be considered as liege subjects, and thenceforward be entitled to all the rights, and *sub-jected to all the duties* of this new state; not forgetting to denounce the pains and penalties of rebellion against those who should withhold due allegiance to the royal government. This arbitrary change of an

understood contract affected deeply and afflicted sorely all to whom it applied; and it was in consequence, as its injustice merited, fatal to the bright prospect, so gratifying to the British general. It demonstrated unequivocally that the hoped for state of neutrality was illusory, and that every man capable of bearing arms, must use them in aid or in opposition to the country of his birth. In the choice to be made, no hesitation existed in the great mass of the people; for "our country" was the general acclaim. The power of the enemy smothered for a while this kindling spirit; but the mine was prepared; the train was laid; and nothing remained but to apply the match to produce the explosion. Sir Henry Clinton, having secured the conquered state, as he fondly believed, embarked on the 6th with the greater part of his army for New York, leaving Cornwallis with four thousand regulars to prosecute the reduction of the Southern States. Succeeding Clinton in his civil, as well as military powers, his lordship was called from the field for the purpose of establishing the many arrangements which the altered condition of the state required. Commercial regulations became necessary, and a system of police for the government of the interior was indispensable.

Previous to his departure from Camden, he had advanced a body of Highlanders, under Major M'Arthur, to Cheraw Hill, on the Pedee, for the purpose of preserving in submission the country between that river and the Santee, and for communicating readily with his friends in North Carolina, especially with the Highland settlement at Cross Creek. Through the

agency of Major M^rArthur, a regular correspondence was established with the loyalists; they were advised of his lordship's determination, as soon as the approaching harvest furnished means of subsistence, to advance with his army into North Carolina, when he should count upon their active assistance; and in the meanwhile they were exhorted to continue passive under the evils to which they were exposed. At the same time, recruiting officers were employed in South Carolina and Georgia, by whose exertions the provincial regiments were considerably augmented. These preliminary measures for the invasion of North Carolina being in execution, his lordship repaired to Charleston, leaving Lord Rawdon in command of the army. Meanwhile Major Davie returned to the county of Mecklenburgh as soon as he was recovered from the wounds received in the attack of Stono, and assembling some of his faithful associates of that district, took the field.

Hovering near the British posts, he became acquainted with the intended movement of a convoy, with various supplies from Camden, to the enemy's post of Hanging Rock, which, amounting only to a small company of infantry, was within the power of Davie's force. He made a rapid and long march in the night, and having eluded the hostile patrols, gained the route of the convoy, five miles below Hanging Rock, before the break of day. Here he halted in a concealed position. In a few hours the convoy appeared, and Davie, falling vigorously upon it, instantly overpowered its escort. The wagons and stores were destroyed; the prisoners, forty in number,



Lord Rawdon.

were mounted on the wagon horses, and escorted by the major, were safely brought within our lines.

About the same time, Captain Huck, of Tarleton's legion, had been detached by Lieutenant-Colonel Turnbull, commanding at Hanging Rock, to disperse some of the exiles of South Carolina, who had lately returned to the state, and were collecting in the neighbourhood of that place to assist in protecting the country. The captain, with forty dragoons, twenty

mounted infantry, and sixty militia, ventured up the country, where the exiles he was ordered to disperse, attacked and destroyed his detachment. The captain, notorious for his cruelties and violence, was killed, as were several others, and the rest dispersed.

After the fall of Charleston, General Gates had been summoned from his retreat in Virginia to command the southern army. Virginia and North Carolina were called upon to hasten reinforcements of militia to the south, and the Maryland and Delaware lines, under the orders of Major-General Baron De Kalb, were put in motion for North Carolina.

The announcement of these preparations reanimated the patriots of Georgia and Carolina, and the smothered discontents growing out of the despotic change, dictated by Sir Henry Clinton's last proclamation, with the irritations daily experienced from his insolent licentious soldiery, began to burst forth. Lord Rawdon drew in M'Arthur from Cheraw Hill, and broke up most of his small posts, dispersed throughout the country, concentrating the British in the positions of Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Camden.

Previous to this measure, the disaffected of North Carolina, forgetting the salutary caution of Lord Cornwallis, and sore under the necessary vigilance of the state government, had imbodyed with the determination to force their way into the British camp. This ill-advised insurrection was speedily crushed, as we have seen in the case of Colonel Moore; but Colonel Bryan had the address to keep together eight hundred of his followers, and to conduct them safely to the

post at Cheraw Hill, although actively pursued by General Rutherford.

Meanwhile Baron De Kalb reached Hillsborough in North Carolina, and after leaving it was joined on the 25th of July by General Gates. Their force now amounted to fifteen hundred men. The militia of North Carolina and Virginia had not yet joined them; and Colonel Porterfield, with four hundred men, was still on the confines of South Carolina. Colonel White and Captain Washington, after the fall of Charleston, had retired to North Carolina, to recruit their regiments of cavalry. They solicited General Gates's aid; but he paid no attention to their request; and in the sequel suffered severely for this error. His disregard of Baron De Kalb's advice as to the route of the army was equally unfortunate. Instead of a circuitous march through a rich and fertile country, he chose to pass by a shorter route through a sterile and thinly-settled region, and exposed the troops to much suffering from want and sickness.

Gates's advance to South Carolina roused the concealed patriots into action. In the country between Pedee and Santee, the spirit of resistance to British tyranny manifested itself openly. Major M'Arthur, when retiring from Cheraw Hill, had availed himself of the river to transport his sick to Georgetown, at which place there was a British post. Colonel Mills, with a party of militia, formed the escort for the sick. As soon as the boats had reached a proper distance from M'Arthur, the militia rose upon their colonel, who with difficulty escaped, made prisoners of the sick, and conveyed them safely into North Carolina.

In the district lying between Camden and Ninety-Six, the same spirit was evinced. A Lieutenant-Colonel Lyle, who, in pursuance of Clinton's proclamation, had exchanged his parole for a certificate of his being a liege subject, led a great portion of the regiment to which he belonged, with their arms and accoutrements, to the frontiers, where they were added to the recruits assembling to join Gates's army. Marion was scouring the country between the Pedee and Santee rivers; Sumpter the region between Camden and Ninety-Six; and Pickens that between Ninety-Six and Augusta.

With Marion on his right, and Sumpter on his left, and General Gates approaching in front, Lord Rawdon, discerning the critical event at hand, took his measures accordingly. He not only called in his outposts, but drew from the garrison of Ninety-Six four companies of light infantry, and made known to Lord Cornwallis the menacing attitude of his enemy.

Sumpter commenced his inroads upon the British territory by assaulting, on the 1st of August, the post of Rocky Mount, in the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Turnbull, with a small garrison of one hundred and fifty of the New York volunteers, and some South Carolina militia. The brigadier, attended by the colonels Lacy, Erwine, and Neale, having each collected some of their militia, repaired, on the 30th of July, to Major Davie, who still continued near the enemy, and was now encamped on the north of the Waxhaws creek, for the purpose of concerting a joint assault upon some of the British outposts. They were led to hasten the execution of this step, fearing

that by delay their associates might disperse without having effected any thing. After due deliberation, they came to the resolution of carrying the posts of Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock in succession. The first of these is situated on the west side of the Catwaba, thirty miles from Camden, and the last was established on the east side of the same river, twenty four miles from Camden. They are distant from each other twelve miles.

Sumpter, having under him the three colonels, advanced with the main body upon Rocky Mount; while Major Davie, with his corps and a part of the Mecklenburgh militia, under Colonel Heaggins, marched to Hanging Rock, to watch the motions of the garrison, to procure exact intelligence of the condition of the post, and to be ready to unite with Sumpter in the intended blow.

Rocky Mount station is fixed on the comb of a lofty eminence, encircled by open woods. This summit was surrounded by a small ditch and abattis, in the centre of which were erected three log buildings, constructed to protect the garrison in battle, and perforated with loop-holes for the annoyance of the assailants.

As Davie got near to Hanging Rock, he learned that three companies of Bryan's loyalists, part of the garrison, were just returning from an excursion, and had halted at a neighbouring farm-house. He drew off, determined to fall upon this party. This was handsomely executed, and completely succeeded. Eluding the sentinels in one quarter with his infantry, and gaining the other point of attack with his horse

undiscovered, by marching through some adjoining woods, he placed the enemy between these two divisions, each of which pressed gallantly into action.

The loyalists, finding their front and rear occupied, attempted to escape in a direction believed to be open, but were disappointed; the major having detached thither a party of his dragoons in time to meet them. They were all, except a few, killed and wounded; and the spoils of victory were safely brought off, consisting of sixty horses and their trappings, and one hundred muskets and rifles.

The brigadier approached Rocky Mount with his characteristic impetuosity; but the British officer was found on his guard, and defended himself ably. Three times did Sumpter attempt to carry it; but being always foiled, having no artillery to batter down the houses, he drew off undisturbed by the garrison, having lost a few of his detachment, with Colonel Neale, an active, determined, influential officer, and retired to his frontier position on the Catawba. Here he rested no longer than was necessary to recruit his corps, refresh his horses, and provide a part of the provisions necessary to support him on his next excursion. Quitting his retreat with his brave associates, Davie, Irvine, Hill, and Lacy, he darted upon the British line of communications, and fell on the post at Hanging Rock, (6th of August), which was held by Major Carden with five hundred men, consisting of one hundred and fifty of the infantry of Tarleton's legion, a part of Colonel Brown's regiment, and Bryan's North Carolina corps, a portion of which had a few days before been cut to pieces by Major Davie.



ATTACK UPON THE HOLLOW SQUARE AT HANGING ROCK.



His attack was, through the error of his guides, pointed at the corps of Bryan, which, being surprised, soon yielded and took to flight. Sumpter pressed with ardour the advantage he had gained, and bore down upon the legion infantry, which was forced. He then fell upon Brown's detachment. Here he was received upon the point of the bayonet. The contest grew fierce, and the issue doubtful; but at length the corps of Brown fell back, having lost nearly all its officers, and a great proportion of its soldiers.

Hamilton's regiment, with the remains of Brown's, and the legion infantry, now formed in the centre of their position, a hollow square.

Sumpter advanced with the determination to strike this last point of resistance; but the ranks of the militia had become disordered, and the men scattered from success, and from the plunder of part of the British camp, so that only two hundred infantry, and Davie's dragoons, could be brought into array. The musketry opened; but their fire was ineffectual; nor could Sumpter, by all his exertions, again bring his troops to risk close action against his well-posted enemy, supported by two pieces of artillery.

The cavalry under Davie fell upon a body of the loyalists, who, having rallied, had formed in the opposite quarter, and menaced our right flank. They were driven from their ground, and took shelter under the British infantry, still in hollow square.

The spoils of the camp, and the free use of spirits in which the enemy abounded, had for some time attracted and incapacitated many of our soldiers. It was therefore determined to retreat with the prisoners

and booty. This was done about twelve o'clock, very leisurely, in the face of the enemy, who did not attempt interruption, so severely had he suffered. A party was now for the first time seen drawn up on the Camden road, with the appearance of renewal of the contest; but on the approach of Davie it fell back. Our loss was not ascertained, from the usual inattention to returns prevalent with militia officers, many of our wounded having been immediately carried home from the field of battle. The corps of Davie suffered most. Captain M'Clure, of South Carolina, and Captain Reed, of North Carolina, were killed; Colonel Hill, Major Winn, and Lieutenant Crawford, were wounded, as were Captain Craighead, Lieutenant Flenchau, and Ensign M'Clure, of North Carolina. The British loss exceeded ours. Captain M'Cullock, who commanded the legion infantry with much personal honour, and two other officers, and twenty men of the same corps, were killed, and nearly forty wounded. Many officers and men of Brown's regiment were also killed and wounded, and some taken.

Bryan's loyalists were less hurt, having dispersed as soon as pressed. The error of the guides, which deranged the plan of attack, the allurements of the spoils found in the enemy's camp, and the indulgence in the use of liquor, deprived Sumpter of the victory once within his grasp, and due to the zeal, gallantry, and perseverance of himself and officers.

The battle of Hanging Rock was the first in which Andrew Jackson was engaged. The family had retired into North Carolina, on Lord Rawdon's advance

to the Waxhaw settlement, and had returned on his retiring to Camden. Andrew and his brother Robert had joined Davie's corps, a short time before the battle. For a boy of thirteen this was rather rough work ; but this and the scenes at Waxhaw, served to inure him to the habits of a warrior, and to impress vividly on his mind the character of the enemy with whom he was so frequently to deal in his subsequent career.

Although General Gates's expedition had set out early in the spring, it was the beginning of August before he could approach Camden, with about four thousand men, mostly militia. He advanced in the determination to push vigorously offensive operations, hoping to induce Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston. That officer, however, had given notice to Cornwallis, who hastened to the spot ; and though the troops, from disease and other causes, had been reduced to little more than two thousand, he resolved without hesitation to attack. He had set out in the night of the 15th, with a view to surprise the Americans, when, by a singular occurrence, he met Gates, in full march, with the same design against himself. The advanced guard of the latter was driven in, when both parties thought it advisable to postpone the general action till daylight.

In the American line, De Kalb, with most of the regulars, commanded on the right, while the militia of Carolina formed the centre, and that of Virginia the left. The conflict began with the last, who were attacked by the British infantry under Colonel Webster, with such impetuosity, that they threw down



Lord Cornwallis.

their arms and precipitately fled. The whole of the left and centre were very speedily off the field, few having fired a shot, and still fewer carrying away a musket. Gates was borne along by the torrent, and after vain attempts to rally his men, gave up all for lost, and never stopped till he reached Charlotte, eighty miles distant. Meanwhile, De Kalb, on the right, opposed to Lord Rawdon, long and firmly maintained his ground, gaining even some advantage; and

it was not till the victorious divisions had wheeled round against him, that his corps was broken and dispersed. He himself, covered with wounds, became a captive, and, notwithstanding every care, expired in a few hours.

About one thousand prisoners were taken, and the whole army scattered. Gates seems manifestly to have erred in fighting a pitched battle with an army consisting chiefly of militia; and Tarleton particularly censures him for having composed of them so great a part of his regular line, instead of merely employing them to skirmish on his front and flanks; but, in fact, his veteran force seems to have scarcely sufficed for a duly extended order of battle.*

Colonel Sumpter, on the evening before the battle of Camden, succeeded in carrying a strong redoubt, on the Wateree, taking above one hundred prisoners. On learning the fatal issue of that day, he instantly began his retreat, and reached with such celerity the fords of the Catawba, that he considered himself safe, and allowed his men to repose during the heat of the day. But nothing could escape the indefatigable ardour of Tarleton, who had been sent in pursuit. His rapidity was such that the greater part of his corps could not follow him, from fatigue; but with one hundred and sixty only he came up, and found Sumpter completely unprepared, his videttes asleep, and the men lying apart from their arms. Roused from slumber by the attack of this daring little band, they scarcely attempted resistance; and after a short

* Marshall—Tarleton.

struggle, about half were captured, the others dispersed. They lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, besides three hundred and ten prisoners; all their stores were taken, and the British captives recovered.

Cornwallis, having thus become master of a considerable number of prisoners, proceeded against them with rigour; several, who had joined the British militia and then deserted to the Americans, were executed as traitors.

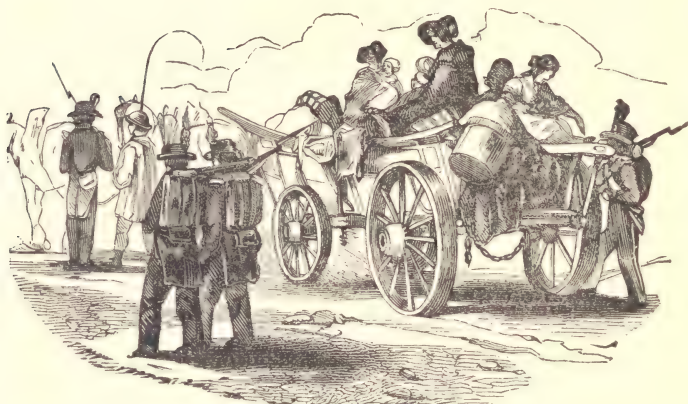
After a few weeks' delay, on account of the heat, the British general advanced to Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Meanwhile, a corps of about sixteen hundred loyal militia having been assembled, under Major Ferguson, an active partisan, he was directed to move westward, and clear the territory along the foot of the mountains. He was led farther in this direction by the movements of a hostile party which threatened Augusta, where he approached and roused into action a class, who were always recognised as terrible foes to the British cause. The borderers who roved along the sides of the Alleghany, were, if possible, ruder and bolder than the boys of the Green Mountain. They rode on light, fleet horses, carrying only their rifle, a blanket, and knapsack. Food was procured by the gun, or on its occasional failure, from a small herd of cattle, driven behind them. At night, the earth was their bed, the sky their canopy. They thus moved with a swiftness which no ordinary troops could rival.

Ferguson, having learned that about three thousand of these daring mountaineers had mustered against

him, began a rapid retreat upon the main body ; but being informed that sixteen hundred of the fleetest and boldest had been formed into a select band in chase of him, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping their almost preternatural swiftness, he took post on King's Mountain, and awaited their attack. They came up on the 7th of October, and began to ascend the mountain in three divisions. Ferguson charged the first, and drove it back with the bayonet ; and wherever this weapon could be used, he was victorious ; but the assailants clustered round on every side, and from beneath the covert of trees and steeps, discharged their rifles with almost unerring aim. The British soon began to fall in great numbers, and when their commander himself received a mortal wound, the whole party were routed, three hundred killed and wounded, and the rest completely dispersed. In retaliation of Cornwallis's proceedings at Camden, ten of the principal captives were hanged on the spot.

While these events were transpiring, Mrs. Jackson and her sons were in North Carolina, whither, in company with many other families from the Waxhaw neighbourhood, they had retired, subsequently to the battle of Camden ; the summary proceedings of Cornwallis after that event rendering it impracticable for those families who were determined not to become British subjects to remain in South Carolina. This voluntary exile is one among the numerous evidences of resolution and spirit exhibited by the mother of Jackson.

Cornwallis, meantime, had pushed on to Salisbury, approaching Virginia ; and in expectation of his



Removal of the Waxhaw settlers.

reaching that state, a reinforcement destined for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. Learning, however, that Ferguson had been defeated at King's Mountain, and fearing that the patriots might overrun and spread insurrection in South Carolina, he judged it necessary to fall back upon that colony; and Leslie was instructed to join by the circuitous route of Charleston. The alarm leading to this retrograde movement proved in a great measure unfounded. The people, roused by a local impulse, having accomplished their immediate object, could not be prevented from dispersing, and the partisan warfare was continued by only two small bodies.

Marion, though holding together only from fifty to two hundred men, severely harassed the British, keeping himself so well covered by woods and marshes, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. Sumpter too, after receiving a check from that officer,

had again assembled a considerable corps of mounted militia, and threatened some important posts. His former enemy not being at hand, Major Wemyss was employed, and soon came up with him; but being early wounded, and his troops unskilled in this species of warfare, he suffered a severe repulse. It was then necessary to have recourse to Tarleton, and give him a considerable force. Using his accustomed despatch, he had nearly got in the rear of his adversary, who, as soon as he learned to whom he was opposed, hurried by rapid marches to the Tyger, whose rapid stream once passed, would secure his retreat. Tarleton, seeing that with his whole force he could not be in time to prevent this movement, adopted his former plan of pushing forward with two hundred and fifty cavalry and mounted infantry. He found his opponent strongly posted on the bank of the river, and with his wonted promptitude rushed forward to the attack. The conflict, however, was obstinate and bloody, and Tarleton was finally obliged, with considerable loss, to fall back on his infantry. Sumpter then crossed the river; but being wounded in the action himself, and rendered incapable of service for some months, his opponent reaped the fruits of the victory.

Gates, meantime, used diligent exertions to collect and reorganize the remains of his defeated army; and Congress, amid every difficulty, forwarded to him reinforcements. His defeat at Camden, however, being regarded as the effect of his own imprudence, Congress removed him from the command, and appointed General Greene to succeed him.



General Greene.

When Greene arrived, on the 2d of December, the army had been raised to nearly two thousand men, of whom the larger number were regulars. Determining by some movement to support the cause in South Carolina, he detached General Morgan, a very able partisan officer, to take post on the Broad River, and endeavour to cut off Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, from the upper country. He had about six hundred men, with the expectation of assembling

more in the district. On learning this movement, Tarleton was immediately despatched with one thousand men to resist the inroad.

The American general at first abandoned his camp, and began a rapid retreat ; but, finding this difficult, and his force being nearly equal, he resolved to await the attack at Cowpens, a spot three miles from the boundary of the Carolinas. Avoiding the fault of Gates, he disposed his militia in front, keeping in reserve a chosen body, on whom he could fully depend.

On the 17th of January, Tarleton came up, and immediately rushed to the charge. The first American line was soon broken, and hastily retreated into the rear of the second, which was then attacked and thrown into some confusion, when Morgan ordered the men to fall back and unite with the reserve. This movement was mistaken for a flight by the assailants, who pushed on exultingly, in somewhat irregular order.

Suddenly, the Americans, having fully adjusted their line, halted, wheeled round, and commenced a destructive fire on their pursuers, who, being seen to falter, a charge was made with the bayonet, and by the cavalry with their drawn swords. After a short contest, the lately victorious British were completely routed, and the whole infantry surrounded and obliged to surrender. The cavalry escaped by flight ; but, upwards of three hundred were killed or wounded, and five hundred made prisoners. Tarleton declares himself quite unable to account for so total a rout. He appears in fact to have attacked in his usual impetuous manner, on the calculation of encountering

mostly loose militia levies, whereas the greater part of the opposing force was veteran ; even two of the militia companies consisted of regulars recently discharged. The British army suffered thus most severely, having lost all its light infantry, a corps particularly useful in such warfare : nor was it a small misfortune for them that the commander considered by his countrymen an almost invincible partisan officer was thoroughly disgraced by being beaten in a battle which, with his regular force, he ought to have won.

Cornwallis, however, having just received the reinforcement of twenty-six hundred men under Leslie, determined to efface the impression of this disaster by a series of the most active offensive operations. Destroying all his superfluous baggage, he supplied the loss of his light infantry by converting nearly the whole of his army into a corps of that description. His first hope was to overtake Morgan, and recover all that was lost, which he had so nearly effected, that his van reached the Catawba, on the 29th of January, only two hours after the Americans had passed, when a torrent of rain swelled the waters, and rendered it impossible for him to follow.

Greene, who had hastened to take the command, hoped to defend the passage of this river ; but it was forced on the 1st of February, at a private ford, defended by Colonel Davidson, who was defeated and killed. Tarleton then surprised and dispersed a body of militia assembled at a neighbouring inn.

General Greene considering himself wholly unable to hazard a battle, retreated before his adversary, who immediately began a chase, which was continued in



BATTLE OF COWPENS



cessantly and rapidly across the whole of North Carolina. On the night of the 2d of February, the two divisions of the American army having effected a junction, crossed the Yadkin, but so closely followed, that their rear skirmished with the van of the enemy, and part of the baggage was taken. By another favourable chance, heavy rain fell during the night, and in the morning rendered the river impassable; so that Cornwallis was obliged to make a circuit to its upper fords, while his opponent continued his retreat. He marched towards the Dan, the chief branch of the Roanoke, which flows nearly along the boundary of Carolina and Virginia. It was a broad, unfordable stream, and Greene, if he reached the other side, would be in safety; but the pursuit was continued, in the confident hope of his being unable to find vessels sufficient to transport over his troops. This was indeed the case at the ferry immediately before him; but by an able movement, he led his army twenty miles downward to two others, sending a detachment to bring the boats from the upper one. He thus collected a sufficient number, and by extraordinary exertions, had his army ferried over, his rear reaching the northern bank just as the English van appeared on the southern.

This march was considered highly creditable to Greene, who gained great applause, on account of his disadvantageous situation, fleeing before a superior enemy, who pursued with such rapidity, yet placing in safety not only his army but the greater part of his heavy baggage.

Cornwallis now gave up the pursuit, and repaired

to Hillsborough, with the view of calling out and organizing the royalist force. On the other hand, Greene, having obtained a reinforcement of Virginia militia, repassed the Dan, and with his light troops endeavoured to annoy the British army, and prevent recruiting. Major Lee surprised a detachment of royalists, who mistook him for Tarleton, and cut them nearly to pieces.

On account of the exhausted state of the country at Hillsborough, Cornwallis withdrew to a position on the Allimance Creek, between Haw and Deep rivers, where he could be better supplied, and support his friends, who were there numerous. Greene, however, by an active use of his cavalry and light troops, severely harassed his opponent; and by changing his own position every night, eluded the attempt to bring him to an engagement.

At length, the American general, having received reinforcements, which raised his army to above four thousand two hundred men, of whom about a third were regulars, determined to offer battle. This was what the other had eagerly sought; his own effective force being but twenty-four hundred men; and although they were chiefly veteran troops, he felt some hesitation, and probably would have acted more wisely in maintaining the defensive. Even the enterprising Tarleton observes, that in his circumstances, defeat would have been total ruin, while any victory he might expect to gain could yield little fruit. All the habits and views of Cornwallis, however, being directed to an active campaign, he formed his resolution, and on the 15th of March, proceeded to the attack.

Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously near Guilford Court-House, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginian, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having given way, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with firmness, and kept up their fire till ordered to retreat. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought only of retiring, but Colonel Gunby, at the head of the first, gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet, a strong body of riflemen on the left flank kept up a galling fire, till Tarleton with the cavalry drove them off the field. In this hard-fought battle the Americans own a loss of three hun-

dred continentals and one hundred militia killed and wounded. Cornwallis kept the field, but notwithstanding, the British interest in North Carolina was that day ruined.

The British lost in the battle of Guilford five hundred and thirty-two men in killed and wounded, including two of their best officers, and reducing their effective force below fifteen hundred. Although Cornwallis claimed the victory, he was obliged to fall back upon Wilmington, a step which involved the abandonment of North Carolina. Greene consequently resolved to carry the war into South Carolina; and Cornwallis proceeded towards Virginia, where he was destined to close his military career in America by the surrender of Yorktown.

In February, Mrs. Jackson and her family returned from North Carolina to the homestead in Waxhaw. This was a bold step, considering that Camden, not far from her residence, was held by a British garrison, and that the whole country, in every direction, was infested with British marauders and Tories, who carried on the war in a spirit of extermination, plundering and killing the inhabitants, without respect to age or sex.

No family could go to rest without serious apprehensions of being assailed in the night by these ruthless enemies, who, in many cases put all to the sword who could bear arms, and after ransacking and pillaging the house, set it on fire, and left the women and children to seek shelter where they could. "The spectacle," says a British writer, "of women of the first distinction fleeing with their families in a state

of total destitution, excited public sympathy. It was unfortunate for Britain that the fair sex strongly shared these feelings, and many warmly espoused the patriotic cause, glorying even in the title of “rebel ladies.”

Mrs. Jackson was one of these rebel ladies, destined to exhibit the most heroic devotion to the cause, and to lay down her life at the altar of patriotism. Her sons shared her feelings; and, young as they were, accustomed themselves to sleep upon their arms, ready to resist a midnight attack of the Tories. Their tender age did not prevent them from joining in the measures for protection and defence to which all able-bodied men were driven by the stress of the times. They were often attached to the patrols which were under arms in the neighbourhood through the night. Their conduct on these occasions is thus described by Mr. Garland.

“At the age of thirteen, Andrew Jackson was not, like the boys of our day, engaged in some school or academy, learning Greek and Latin, and mathematics, storing his mind with knowledge, and preparing himself for future usefulness. He was in the field, not in the corn-field or wheat-field, reaping the fruits of honest industry, but in the battle-field, fighting in defence of his country.

“The boy of thirteen, with sword and gun, rode by the side of Marion, and Davie, and Sumpter, renowned leaders, whose deeds of daring are familiar to the youngest child that hears me. Those heroic men, by their valour and fortitude, filled the world with admiration, and called back in imagination the

age of chivalry and romance, yet they did not surpass the heroism and fortitude of their youthful companion. It was no common war in which he was called to engage, in the Waxhaw Settlement. It was a civil war, indeed—a war of extermination, in which neighbour practised on neighbour such deeds of cruelty as would have put the Creeks or Cherokees to shame. Those who in former days had set in the shadow of his mother's door, broken bread at her hospitable board, and spoken words of kindness to her widowed heart, now sought to wrap her humble dwelling in flames, and to take the life of her fatherless children. The patriot soldier dared not visit his own home, and seek an hour's repose in the bosom of his family, without a body-guard to protect him from the assault of his Tory neighbours. On one such occasion, Andrew Jackson and his brother Robert, with four or five others, volunteered to stand guard for Captain Sands, while he sought a night's repose with his family. At midnight, when all were asleep, having no immediate apprehensions of an attack, a party of Tories, divided into platoons, approached the house in front and rear. One wakeful soldier, hearing a noise, went out and saw the party approaching in front. Running back in terror, he seized Jackson by the hair, exclaiming, 'The Tories are upon us!'

"Jackson sprang up, ran out to the front door, and challenged the approaching party. Again he challenged—but no answer—he fired—his fire was returned by a volley from the whole platoon. The soldier by his side fell dead—he retreated to the door, and with two others defended it to the last extremity.

Both his companions fell ; but he stood unhurt, fighting to the last. A fortunate circumstance caused the enemy to retreat, and the young hero had the satisfaction to know that his promptness and valour had saved his friend from assassination, and the family and property of his friend from insult and destruction. Delightful foretaste of that greater bliss which was to fill his joyful heart, when in his triumphal march he trod upon roses scattered in his path by the rescued maidens of New Orleans !

“On another occasion, when a band of patriots were waiting at the Waxhaw meeting-house for some of their companions, they saw a party approaching that they took to be friends ; but, on a nearer view, discovered them to be Tories in citizens’ dress, with a body of British dragoons in rear. Many by this stratagem were captured. But Robert and Andrew Jackson, light boys with brave hearts, on fleet horses made their escape through the woods and swamps. They stayed out all night, and on entering a house next day in search of something to eat, were surrounded by the dragoons and taken prisoners. While there, a British officer, a disgrace to his name and profession, demanded of Andrew Jackson to perform an ignominious office ; which he indignantly refused. Boys ! what would you have done in this situation ? A helpless captive, in the hands of ruthless soldiers—an insolent officer, with bent brows and uplifted sword demanding of you to clean his boots—what would you have done ? In such helplessness, and with such threatening danger overhanging you, would you not have slunk away, and quietly cleaned the mud from



Jackson defying the British officer.

the boots of your insolent captor? Not so Andrew Jackson! Boy as he was—defenceless as he was, he scornfully refused; demanding to be treated with respect due to a prisoner of war and a gentleman. Did the British officer receive with admiration that act of heroism, and extend a hand of forgiveness to the youthful hero? He struck a violent blow at his head! Jackson, throwing up his left arm, received the stroke that was aimed at his life. The arm was broken, but the heroic life was saved, to chastise in after years, that act of British tyranny and insolence.

“The same ignominious task was now required of Robert. He with equal spirit refused, and received a sabre-stroke on his head, which not many weeks afterwards proved fatal to his life. Those two wounded boys were marched to Camden; not a mouthful of

food or a drop of water was given them by the way. The brutal savages, with British uniforms on their backs, refused them even the privilege of slaking their fevered thirst by scooping up water in their hands as they rode across the river! Arriving at Camden, they, with a multitude of others, were thrust into prison. No attention was paid to their wounds or to their wants. They had no beds, nor any substitute—their only food was a scanty supply of bad bread. They were robbed of their clothing, taunted by Tories with being rebels, and assured that they would be hanged. Andrew Jackson was stripped of his jacket and shoes, and separated from his brother so soon as their relationship was known. The small-pox made its appearance among the prisoners. No step was taken to stay its progress, or mitigate its ravages. Denied the attention of physician or nurse, they were left to perish, without sympathy or compassion. In this state of things, Andrew Jackson fell into conversation with the officers of the guard, described the condition of the prisoners, and remonstrated against the treatment they had received. A boy not yet fourteen years of age, who had proved that he neither feared the sword nor the insolence of power, now dared, in a dungeon surrounded with disease, squalor, and death, to confront his stern keepers, and in the honest and simple eloquence of youth, tell the truth to ears most unwilling to hear it. Heroic lad! how my soul yearns over thee! and even in sadness rejoiceth that human nature, with all its vileness, is endowed with so much of the God-like! How I long, bold youth! to take thee in my arms, and from the light of thine eyes and

the proud swell of thy bosom, draw some inspirations of the divine nature that fills thee !

“Hearing in her loneliness of the capture and confinement of her sons, Mrs. Jackson hastened down to Camden to minister to their wants and rescue them from captivity. What a spectacle to a fond mother ! Both infected with the small-pox—both emaciated to skeletons, and almost naked ! By the kind assistance of an American officer, she effected an exchange of prisoners, with her sons included in the number, and immediately started home with her melancholy charge.

“There were but two horses for the whole company. Mrs. Jackson rode on one—on the other Robert was held by his companions, while Andrew walked barefooted and half-clad. They journeyed forty miles through a desolate country, and before reaching home a drenching rain drove in the small-pox on both boys. In a few days, Robert breathed his last—Andrew became delirious, and remained for some time in a hopeless condition. By the constant care of a good Samaritan, he was at length restored, the only son of his widowed mother !

“But this saint-like woman was not content with the rescue of her own children. No sooner was her now only son restored to life, than she hastened down to Charleston to minister to the wants of her countrymen, confined in the prison-ships there—whose sufferings and privations were only surpassed by the poor wretches crammed into the middle passage of an African slave-ship. She went—accomplished her mission of mercy—but never returned. Seized with the prison fever on her way back, she fell by the way-side, and

was buried no mortal knows where. Andrew Jackson never knew where to find his mother's grave—never knew where to pour out his orphan tears on the senseless clod that covered the remains of all that was dear to him on earth! Hapless was his fate! A father's care he never knew—his eldest brother long since gone—Robert murdered—and his mother now a victim to the cruelties of the same ruthless enemy. Like Logan, or "The ancient mariner," far out at sea, with his companions all dead, could he exclaim—

" Alone ! alone, all, all alone !
Alone on the wide, wide sea !"

But he was not alone. There was a God that overruled his destiny—that set him apart and ordained him as a fit instrument to accomplish his divine purposes in the history of man. He had no father, like Hannibal, to lead him to the altar of his country and make him swear eternal hostility to Roman power. But in the depths of his orphan heart, and in the presence of the God that guided his footsteps, did he swear eternal vengeance against that modern Rome, whose iron heel for centuries had trodden out the spirit of his fatherland, who had sought to subjugate the land of his birth, the refuge of the oppressed, and had steeped his murderous sword in the blood of his own kindred !"

It was while Andrew Jackson was a prisoner at Camden, that he witnessed General Greene's engagement with Lord Rawdon. The first encounter took place at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden, on the 25th of April, and ended in the defeat of the Americans ; but

did not change materially the relative situation of the armies. Greene could still maintain his position and support the detachments of Lee, Marion and Sumpter, which were operating in the rear of Lord Rawdon's army.

Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery or besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifle fire drove the defenders, and themselves then mounted compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading five hundred men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action; but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hope of success. His lordship finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Motte's House on the Congaree; but before reaching it, he had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of one hundred and sixty-five, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country.

The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts; and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of Upper Georgia. In these five forts they made eleven hundred prisoners. The most

important one, however, was that named Ninety-Six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered this place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground before it on the night of the 23d of May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy, that by the 3d of June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress. The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress, unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three-quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire, as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle;

but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia, while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburg on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-Six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by one thousand men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill-health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the Congaree and Wateree unite in forming the Santee. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view, induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither the American general immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th of September, the latter determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual, his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had

been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very desperate struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the victors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with great loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody and doubtful battle, both parties claim the victory, though the British seemingly with most reason, as the general result was their repulse of an assailing force. It was certainly far from decisive; and their loss of eighty-five killed and six hundred and eight wounded, was very little less than that of the enemy, who carried off also above two hundred prisoners. The British commander then formed a resolution, prompted less probably by the result of the day, than by the general state of the upper country, and the numbers and activity of the American light troops. Conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, he began to move on the evening of the 9th, and proceeded down to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. To this

and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.

“Thus,” says Ramsay, “ended the campaign of 1781, in South Carolina. At its commencement, the British were in force over all the state. At its close, they durst not, but with great precaution, venture twenty miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much, with equal means, as was done by General Greene, in the short space of a twelvemonth. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects; but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half-naked army had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with everything that the wealth of Britain, or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the state, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture, he would have been discouraged; but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat as on the morning after a victory.”

The sketch which we have given above of the southern war, will serve to show our readers the opportunities which Andrew Jackson enjoyed of learning the elements of the military art. In the society of such men as Marion, Sumpter, and Davie, with the examples before him of Greene, Lee, Washington, and Howard, he learnt those principles of strategy which he afterwards reduced to practice in the second war with England.



Riding the circuit.

CHAPTER III.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE.



ON the decease of his brother and mother, Andrew Jackson came into possession of his paternal estate, which, though far from rendering him wealthy, was sufficiently large to support him in a moderate style of living, and to enable him to pur-
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sue his studies. Unused, however, to economical management, he neglected the opportunity thus afforded for accomplishing his mother's design, and expended his patrimony without regard to the future. His diminished resources, however, soon warned him that his own exertions must be his reliance for support; and he continued and completed his classical education, superintended by Mr. M'Culloch, who taught a school near Hill's Iron Works. His enterprising disposition, and his ambition to raise himself above his original situation, led him to abandon the intention entertained by his mother, and turn his attention to the law. He commenced his legal studies near the close of his eighteenth year, at Salisbury, N. C.; in the office of Spruce M'Kay, Esq., who afterwards was promoted to the bench. They were completed under Colonel John Stokes; and in 1786, Jackson received his license, and commenced the practice of the law.

The legal business in the Carolinas was at this period engrossed by old practitioners; and many difficulties presented themselves to the young beginner, unless aided by the influence of relations and friends. Destitute of these, and seeing little prospect of advancement in his present situation, Jackson determined to proceed to the western country, which was then beginning to attract attention, and where the field was yet unoccupied. Judge M'Nairy being about to proceed to the western part of the states, to hold a session of the Supreme Court, he resolved to accompany him. They left North Carolina in the spring of 1788, and after having experienced considerable detention upon their journey, arrived at Nashville in

October. He found the community in a situation which rendered his arrival a most fortunate event. Many of the younger and more dissipated of the settlers had become deeply indebted to the merchants and tradesmen, who were unable to obtain legal redress, because the debtors had secured the only lawyer in the county to their interest. The defrauded creditors hailed Jackson as a deliverer. They immediately beset him with applications for his services; and on the next morning after his arrival, seventy writs were issued against defaulters. His professional career, thus auspiciously commenced, continued to be prosperous. The scoundrels who had so long gone unpunished, attempted to intimidate him, but to no purpose. Shortly after his emigration to the west, he was appointed by the governor of North Carolina, attorney-general for the western district. In this capacity, he continued the same course of practice which he had commenced. He executed the laws with so much faithfulness, that his life was more than once endangered; by his firmness and fearless conduct, however, he awed the cowardly ruffians who threatened to attack him, and brought them to justice. His duties as prosecuting attorney, obliged him frequently to cross the wilderness between Jonesborough and Nashville, a distance of more than two hundred miles, infested with hostile Indians. Twenty-two times did he perform this hazardous journey, with no other companion than his horse and rifle. His efforts were rewarded by a lucrative practice, and an almost unbounded popularity; which was evinced at every opportunity, by his elevation to offices of honourable trust.

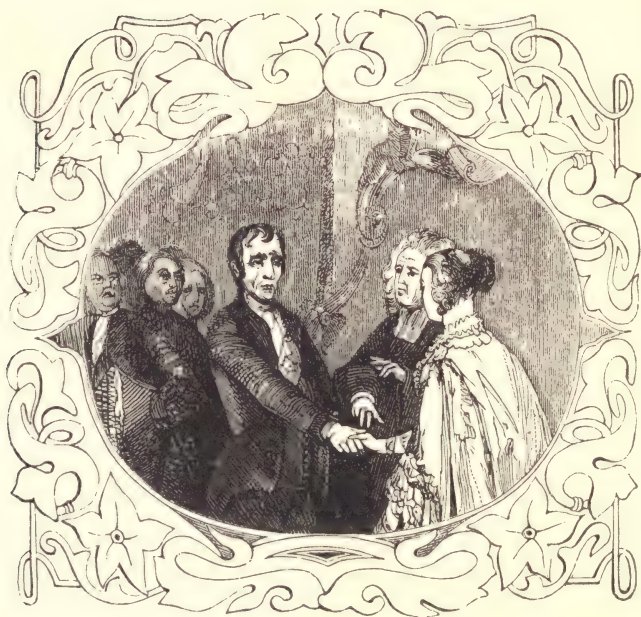
In 1791, Jackson married the wife who absorbed his every affection while living, whose loss was the greatest sorrow of his life, and whose memory he ever cherished with undiminished devotion. Circumstances which attended this union have been misconstrued to his disadvantage; but a recital of the facts will convince every reasonable reader of the purity of his motives, the generosity of his nature, and the entire propriety of his conduct. The object of his choice was the daughter of Colonel John Donelson, who was a native of Virginia, whence he emigrated to Kentucky. During his residence in that state, Lewis Robards, whose family resided in the vicinity of Harrodsburg, visited his family, and succeeded in gaining the affections of his daughter Rachel. With the consent of her father, they were united, and lived at first in apparent happiness. Some time after their marriage, Colonel Donelson removed to Tennessee, and settled near Nashville, where he afterwards died. Here Jackson became acquainted with his widow, and there being no regular public-houses in the settlement, he and his intimate friend, Mr. Overtin, boarded with Mrs. Donelson. Meanwhile, Mrs. Robards, who had been celebrated for her personal, mental, and moral qualities, had unfortunately become the object of her husband's jealousy. The latter appears to have been of a totally different character and disposition, and unable to appreciate the inestimable treasure he possessed in his amiable consort. Her hospitable and convivial disposition ill accorded with his sullen and selfish temper. He was unwilling to permit his wife's virtues to benefit any but himself, and he was too much

given to depraved pleasures to cherish them as he ought. The guilt which his conscience told him rested on his soul, his imagination ascribed to her; and all her exertions to dispel his unjust suspicions were vain. She endeavoured, but vainly, to persuade his poisoned mind of her purity and undiminished affection. He would not credit her repeated declarations, and refused to live with her. They had been residing with his mother, who was a widow, since the emigration of Colonel Donelson to Kentucky. The mother-in-law was convinced of the innocence of the injured wife; but Robards refused to believe, and Rachel was obliged to return to her parents. Parents!—alas—her father had ended his course in the humble log-cabin at Nashville, and to her widowed mother she brought her sorrowing heart, and that kindness which had smoothed her couch in infancy, was again exerted to heal the wound which had been so causelessly inflicted. At her mother's dwelling she first met Andrew Jackson. Her personal loveliness, intellectual accomplishments, and moral worth—and above all, her unmerited sufferings, awakened in the bosom of our hero, sentiments of the purest admiration and respect: but his feelings proceeded not beyond the limit of the most scrupulous propriety. It is probable, indeed, the known gallantry of his nature forbids a doubt, that he used every means in his power to render less irksome her painful situation, and to banish from her mind the recollection of the past: but it has never been said, on respectable authority, and it cannot be supposed that his attentions to Mrs. Robards partook of aught save the respect and consideration due to her merit. After Robards

had separated from his wife, Mr. Overtin formed an acquaintance with his family, and was delighted to discover that the husband's heart had at last relented, and that he repented his conduct towards his partner. Through his mediation, a reconciliation was effected between them; and Robards came to Nashville, intending to reside with his mother-in-law, until a cabin which was in course of erection for him, should be completed. His arrival produced no change in the deportment of Jackson, who, unconscious of any impure motive, or improper action, entertained no suspicion that his conduct would be considered objectionable by Robards. The latter, however, who appears to have had no conception of friendship without passion, had no sooner seen the friendly intercourse of Jackson and Mrs. Robards, than all his old suspicions were reawakened. Notwithstanding this, he made no avowal of his displeasure to Jackson; and his unfortunate wife and mother-in-law suffered alone the effects of his evil passions. The facts having come to the knowledge of the innocent cause of the jealousy of Robards, he immediately assured him that his suspicions were unfounded. Failing to persuade him of this, Jackson removed to Mansker's Station; but his departure produced no alteration in Robards' sentiments. The latter soon left his wife, avowing to others his determination never to return. He proceeded to Kentucky, and no further communication was had with him by Mrs. Robards; but sometime subsequent to his departure, she was informed that he contemplated a journey to Tennessee for the purpose of compelling her to return with him to his dwelling in Kentucky. To avoid

this was an object of great importance to her friends, and it was therefore arranged that she should proceed to Natchez, in company with Colonel Stark. The colonel, who was accompanied by his family, and was, moreover, advanced in years, requested Andrew Jackson to join his party. This step, the dangers of the navigation, the liability to attack by the Indians, and his own age, combined to render advisable. In a short time after Mrs. Robards' journey to Natchez, intelligence reached Nashville, that a petition for divorce, which her husband was known to have presented, had been granted by the legislature of Virginia. All obstacles to their intercourse being thus removed, Jackson determined to pay his addresses to her, with the view of obtaining her hand. To this course he was prompted by his knowledge and admiration of her character, his sympathy for her wrongs, and the feeling that he had been in some measure, though involuntarily, the cause of them. He went to Natchez in the summer of 1791, to lay his heart at her feet; and in the autumn, Rachel Jackson assumed her station at the head of the household of him of whose heart she may well be called the idol. Their union produced great joy among the numerous friends of both parties, and the happy experience of subsequent years demonstrated the wisdom of their choice. Two years after his marriage the fact came first to the knowledge of Jackson, that the information received by him relative to the divorce of Robards was incorrect; that the legislature had only authorized the institution of proceedings in a court of Kentucky; that the divorce had been but recently decreed by that court; and that

consequently Mrs. Robards was actually another man's wife when he married her. No sooner had he learnt the true state of the case, than he hastened to obtain a license, and the marriage ceremony was again performed in January, 1794.





CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WAR—LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL LIFE.



THE period at which we have now arrived, was signalized by frequent attacks of the Indians, who sometimes committed fearful ravages upon the more exposed settlements of the western frontiers. This constant liability to at-

tack, had the effect of rendering every man a soldier, as all were obliged to take the field in defence of their families and homes. The military talents displayed by Jackson in these frontier wars, soon gained for him a wide spread reputation, and paved the way for his subsequent advancement. Always cool, determined and fearless, he soon became known to enemies as well as friends, and the title of Long Knife, and Sharp Arrow, by which the Indians designated him, are convincing proofs of the estimation in which his prowess was held by them. Conspicuous for his bravery and ability in the field, and admired for his legal attainments, he became a general favourite with his fellow citizens.

In the same year he received a more distinguished proof of their regard, in his election to the national legislature. His conduct in the house of representatives was characterized by a warm zeal for the public interest, especially for that of his own state; and a consistent adherence to the doctrines of the republican party, then in a minority in Congress. In 1797, his conduct received the marked approval of the legislature of Tennessee, who gratified the popular will by raising him to a seat in the United States Senate. He took his seat in that august body on the 22d of November. He was present, and voted with the republican or democratic party upon the alien law and the stamp question; but being obliged by private business to avail himself of a leave of absence, in the month of April, he was deprived of the opportunity of recording his name in opposition to the sedition law, which passed the Senate in July, 1798.

Jackson's acquaintance with Mr. Livingston commenced at this time. It is thus noticed by a contemporary.

"It was while Livingston was in Congress, that was formed that intimate friendship between him and Andrew Jackson, which lasted for nearly half a century. Jackson at that period represented in his single person, the state of Tennessee, which, at the present day sends twelve members to the House of Representatives. Never were two natures more totally unlike attracted toward each other, by those inexplicable sympathies, which often link men the more closely together by reason of the very causes which would seem to tend to create a reciprocal repulsion. The one of a contemplative spirit, speculative, endowed with a great power of analysis, but judging slowly—studying man, but from his studious habits, mingling but rarely among their masses, and then rather in their state of aggregation than in the isolated individual—born of an opulent family, and educated in the midst of the most polished society of the country, and among some of the most distinguished men in France—fond of the arts, and of letters, having cultivated with equal zeal that science which gives force and accuracy to thought, and that polite literature which teaches to clothe it in the forms that adorn its manifestations to the minds of others.

"The other, sprung from the ranks of the democracy in the broadest sense in the world—owing to himself, and himself alone, both his education and his fortune—having encountered nothing but obstacles in his path; owing to the people alone his advancement, and

cherishing a perpetual remembrance of their generous patronage; marching straight up to difficulty, and trampling it under foot, without even turning it—in all that regards science and letters having had leisure only to study elementary books, but profoundly versed in all relating to our civil institutions, and to the men who founded them, as well as to that part of the English jurisprudence, the Common Law, which connects itself with our institutions, as with those of Great Britain—with a will of iron, and indefatigable ardor, and unequalled promptness in seizing the point of a discussion, with a rustic eloquence that sought its images amid the objects of nature, and found its inspiration in a soul enthusiastic for the noble and the grand—in war, possessing that rapid eye which makes the great general, with that faculty of electrifying the soldier, of quickening to a fanaticism, the love of his country within his heart; while, with the enemy, no compromise, speaking of him as though never was there to be peace or truce with him—neglecting no detail, no precaution, scarcely ever sleeping but in day-time—never despising his enemy, but supposing him always to possess an equal capacity with his own—fearing no responsibility, but trusting ever implicitly in the generous indulgence of the people toward those who have sprung from its own ranks, and in whom it does not suspect the possibility of treachery to its cause—‘having,’ to quote the language of Jefferson, ‘more of the Roman in his heart and in his soul, than any other man of modern times.’

“This high and bold spirit exercised upon me, from the first interview, the power of an irresistible spell.

I loved to hear him relate to me, the struggles of his youth with poverty and ignorance; his childish and patriotic delight on the day when, like a young courser, he bounded into the forest, rifle in hand, to seek the continental troops encamped on the eve of the first battle in which he felt the movement of his warlike instinct. In Congress he spoke but rarely; but when he did rise, shaking his upright hair, and surveying the assembly with his eagle glance, the most profound silence reigned throughout it.

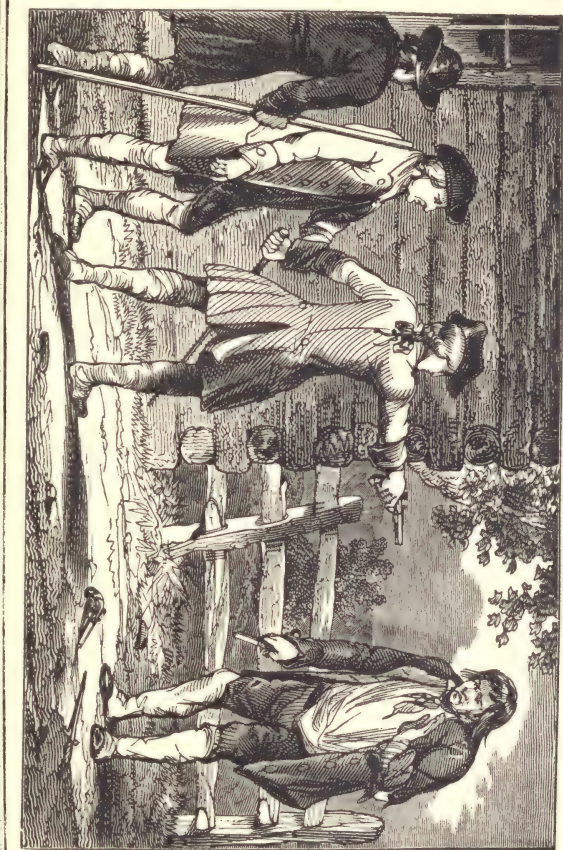
“I had once the opportunity of hearing Jackson speak of the origin of his intimacy with Livingston. ‘I felt myself suddenly attracted toward him,’ he said, ‘by the gentleness of his manners; the charm of his conversation, gay without frivolity, instructive without the ostentation of instructing; by the profound acquaintance he already possessed with the theories of society, and of the laws, in their relation to the characters of nations; by his unlimited confidence in the sagacity of the people, and of their capability of self-government, through the agency of representatives specially instructed to express the opinion of their constituents on great questions of general interest, still more than on those of local concern; and above all, by that lovely and holy philanthropy, which impelled him from his youth to mitigate the severity of those penal laws, whose cruelties serve only to inspire in the masses a ferocity that always obtains an equilibrium with that of the laws which govern them.’ ”*

Shortly after the election of Jackson to the senate, Major-General Conway, commander-in-chief of the

militia of Tennessee, died. The field officers, with great unanimity, chose Andrew Jackson as his successor. This office he held until he was appointed a major-general in the army of the United States.

In 1799, weary of the contentions and intrigues of political life, and desirous of giving place to General Smith, who possessed eminent qualifications for the legislative office, General Jackson resigned his seat in the Senate. He purchased a beautiful estate on the Cumberland river, about ten miles from Nashville, where he established his residence. At this delightful retreat, blessed with a gifted and affectionate companion, and a large and valued circle of friends, he designed to pass his future life. But his many public services had brought to light his eminent talents and devoted patriotism, and such a man could not be permitted to remain inactive. "His services were too important to be lost, and he was appointed to preside over the Supreme Court of law and equity in the state of Tennessee. An allusion to one or two incidents which marked the rough times in which he was called to the administration of the public justice, may not be inappropriate. They will give the 'form and pressure' of those times, and serve to illustrate the identity of the man of thirty with the boy of the Revolution. An individual had been indicted and was for trial. He was in the immediate vicinity of the court house, but such was the strength and ferocity of the man, that the sheriff, not daring to approach him, made a return 'that Russell Bean will not be taken.' 'He must be taken,' said the judge, 'and if necessary, you must summon the body of the county to your aid.' The

SURRENDER OF RUSSELL BEAN.



officer retired, awaited the adjournment of the court, and summoned the judges themselves. Judge Jackson replied, 'Yes, sir, I will attend you, and see that you do *your* duty.' Learning that Bean was armed, he requested a loaded pistol, which was placed in his hand. He then said to the sheriff, 'Advance and arrest him. I will protect you from harm.' Bean, armed with a dirk and brace of pistols, assumed an attitude of defiance and desperation. But as the judge advanced upon him, he began to retreat. 'Stop, and obey the law,' cried the intrepid magistrate. The desperate man paused, threw down his weapons, and exclaimed, 'I will surrender to you, sir, but to no one else!'

"On another occasion, in consequence of his having exposed to the general government extensive land frauds perpetrated in Tennessee, Judge Jackson had concentrated upon himself the hostility of a powerful and influential body of men implicated in those frauds. To such height had their enmity risen, that an attempt was made to mob him on his way to hold a court. Intelligence of the meditated assault had the effect simply of speeding his movements to the scene of contemplated outrage. On his arrival, labouring under severe indisposition, he sought the retirement of his chamber. A friend called, and informing him that a regiment of men, headed by a Colonel Harrison, had collected in front of the house with a view to carry their threat into execution, advised him to secure his door. Judge Jackson immediately threw it open, and exclaimed, 'Give my compliments to Colonel Harrison, and tell him that my door is open to receive him and his regiment when they choose to

wait upon me, and I hope that the chivalry of the colonel will induce him to lead, not follow his men.' It is needless to add, that the fury of the mob quailed before the intrepidity of the man."*

In 1804, his love for private life led him to resign his seat on the bench, much against the wishes of his friends and fellow-citizens. He returned to his estate on the Cumberland, where, possessed of sufficient property to render the practice of his profession unnecessary, he enjoyed a large share of domestic felicity. A favourite pursuit of his was the rearing of horses. He succeeded in greatly improving the breed of the country, and became celebrated for the excellence of his stables. He frequently brought his horses into competition for the honours of the turf, and their performances failed not to do credit to his skill. On one of these occasions, a difficulty arose between him and a man named Charles Dickinson, on the score of a wager lost by the latter. By the interference of persons hostile to General Jackson, an amicable settlement of the dispute was prevented; and Dickinson, having publicly charged Jackson with cowardice, the general sent him a challenge. This act of itself disproved the dishonourable imputation, as Dickinson was reputed to be the best marksman in Tennessee. They met; Dickinson confident of killing his antagonist, and Jackson expecting to sacrifice his life to his honour. Dickinson fired first; the dust was seen to rise from the clothing of Jackson; but he returned the fire with fatal precision. His opponent fell, mortally

* M^cAllister's Eulogy.

wounded. The general proceeded on horseback twenty miles, accompanied by his surgeon: and it was not until they had reached their destination that the surgeon discovered, by the blood upon his clothes, that his friend had been shot through the arm, the ball lodging in his body, and shattering two of his ribs. His astonishing self-command appeared almost superhuman to his friends who witnessed the scene; to one of whom he declared, that so fixed was his resolution, that he should have killed his antagonist, had he himself been shot through the brain! The wounds received in this affair confined General Jackson for some time to his house. Having anticipated slightly in the preceding relation, we will now return to the regular course of our history.*

While Jackson was a member of the Senate, he became acquainted with Aaron Burr, afterwards Vice-President of the United States. In 1805, George Clinton was elected to supersede Burr; and the latter started on a tour through the Western States. He twice visited General Jackson, to whom he declared that he wished to settle a tract of country in which he had an interest, in the recently purchased territory of Louisiana; but that the Spaniards were notoriously disaffected, and being collected on the Sabine in considerable force, they maintained a threatening attitude towards the United States. He further stated that in case of a war between Spain and the United States, he was authorized by the President to make arrangements for the invasion and conquest of Mexico. The people of the western country, and among them General Jackson, were eager for a brush with the Spa

* Later in life, Jackson's sentiments on duelling were entirely changed, and he felt it his duty to disapprove and discourage the practice.

niards, and entered with alacrity into the views of Burr.

In 1806, Burr again returned to Tennessee, and commenced preparations for an extensive expedition, building boats, and engaging men to go with him to settle in Louisiana and make ready for the expected war with Spain. In the meantime, suspicions began to be entertained with regard to his objects, and the United States district attorney in Kentucky proposed to indict him for organizing an unlawful military expedition. When the case was submitted to the grand jury, they declared that there was no evidence tending in the smallest degree to criminate him.

Meanwhile General Jackson received a private communication, which led him to believe that Burr was chief of an extensive conspiracy having for its object the dismemberment of the union, by separating the Western States with Louisiana from the others, and erecting them into an independent government. Jackson immediately communicated his suspicions to Governor Claiborne, at New Orleans, and to the senators and representatives of Tennessee in Congress. He also wrote to Burr, saying that he had received such information, and if he had any treasonable designs against the United States he could hold no further communication with him. Colonel Burr immediately disavowed any such intention, in the most positive terms, and said that any person who could think that he intended the project must deem him a madman. This did not quiet Jackson's suspicions. All intercourse between him and Burr ceased.

When Burr returned to Tennessee in December,

he found public opinion turned against him, and on the 22d of that month, he commenced his voyage down the Cumberland with ten boats, without ammunition, and with only men enough to work the boats. Scarcely had he gone, when Jefferson's proclamation, denouncing Burr's designs, and calling on all good citizens to aid in his arrest, arrived, by a special messenger, with instructions to the civil and military authorities, enjoining them to make use of such force as might be necessary to suppress the conspiracy and arrest the leader.

General Jackson immediately despatched an express down the Cumberland, to watch Burr's movements, and ordered out twelve companies of his command. The express hastened to the mouth of the river, where he ascertained that Burr, with ten boats and six men unarmed in each, had proceeded peacefully down the Ohio. The general dismissed his men, and reported his proceedings to the government.

Colonel Burr descended the Mississippi to the Mississippi Territory, when, finding himself intercepted by the agents of the government, he quietly surrendered himself to the civil authorities, by whom he was sent to Richmond, Virginia, for trial. He was tried on a charge of treason and acquitted. He retired to private life, and never made known his real designs. He always entertained the greatest respect for General Jackson, and spoke of him as a man of the strictest integrity and honour.

"The history of Tennessee at this time," says Flint, "is little more than a dreary chronicle of Indian massacres. Many of these narratives, related apart,

would possess a harrowing interest. Grouped together, they occur in such numbers, and with such uniform circumstances of atrocity and barbarity, that they lose their interest in the confusion of the mass. No less than thirty murders of individuals, or of whole families, occurred within three years after the setting up the federal government. To a person travelling through this fine and populous country, where there is now no more apprehension from Indians, than in the vicinity of Philadelphia, it seems almost incredible that such scenes should have occurred in the vicinity of Nashville, so late as 1796.

“The most conspicuous characters among the Indian chiefs, were Double Head, Hanging Maw, Bloody Fellow, Mad-Dog, and other chiefs, with equally terrible names; and Bowles, Watts, and M’Gillivray, whites, who had become chiefs among them. Pioningo, a Chickasaw chief, is often mentioned in the annals of these times, as having been uniformly friendly to the Americans.

“The last severe lesson taught these people by the Americans, previous to the inflictions of General Jackson, by which they were completely and finally subdued, was at Nickajack, in 1794. An expedition, in which Andrew Jackson took a part, was fitted out against this town from Tennessee. It had been a central point, whence the war parties had proceeded. The American force was sufficient to look down upon opposition. The town was large and populous. The inhabitants attempted to escape in their canoes across the river, on which their town is built. The troops opened a deadly fire upon the canoes. Some were

killed, and some leapt into the water and attempting to escape by swimming were killed before they were out of the reach of the guns. Some women and children were taken prisoners, fifty-five warriors were slain, and that town and another reduced to ashes. In Nickajack were found fresh scalps taken at Cumberland, and a quantity of powder and lead just received from the Spanish government, and a commission to Breath, a chief of that town, who was killed in the action. This severe chastisement, with other events that soon occurred, broke the spirits of the Cherokees.

“Among the murders that still continued to occur, we select the following as a fair sample of the desperate character of the conflicts between the Indians and Americans. We may infer that similar resistance took place in almost every case of the almost numberless assaults and murders in these border wars. On the 27th of January, a party of Indians killed George Mason, on Flat Creek, about twelve miles from Knoxville. During the night he heard a noise at his stable, and he stepped out to ascertain the cause; and the Indians coming in between him and the door, intercepted his return. He fled, but was fired upon and wounded. He reached a cave a quarter of a mile from his house, out of which, already weltering in his blood, he was dragged and murdered. Having finished this business, they returned to the house to despatch his wife and children: Mrs. Mason, unconscious of the fate of her husband, heard them talking to each other as they approached the house. At first she was delighted with the hope that her neighbours, aroused by the firing, had come to her assistance. But under

standing English and German, the language of her neighbours, and perceiving that the conversation was in neither of these tongues, she instantly inferred that they were savages coming to attack the house. This heroine had that very morning learned how the double trigger of a rifle was set. Fortunately the children were not awakened by the firing; and she took good care not to disturb them. She shut the door, and barred it with benches and tables; and took down the well charged rifle of her husband. She placed herself directly opposite the opening which would be made by forcing the door. Her husband came not, and she was but too well aware that he was slain. She was alone in the darkness. The yelling savages were without, pressing upon the house. She took counsel from her own magnanimity, heightened by affection for her children, sleeping unconsciously around her. The Indians pushing with great violence, gradually opened the door sufficiently wide to attempt an entrance. The body of one was thrust into the opening, and just filled it. He was struggling for admittance. Two or three more, directly behind him, were propelling him forward. She set the trigger of the rifle, put the muzzle near the body of the foremost, and in a direction that the ball, after passing through his body, would penetrate those behind. She fired. The first Indian fell. The next one uttered the scream of mortal agony. This intrepid woman saw the necessity of profound silence. She observed it. The Indians in consequence were led to believe that armed men were in the house. They withdrew from the house, took three horses from the stable, and set it on fire. It was after-

wards ascertained that this high-minded woman had saved herself and children from the attack of twenty-five assailants."

This incident will serve as a specimen of the horrors to which the inhabitants of Tennessee were subjected, even at so recent a period as 1796. In all the perilous expeditions which were undertaken for the protection of the frontier in his neighbourhood from the savage enemy, Jackson bore his full share.

In 1796, the territory of Tennessee was erected into a state, and the people seized the earliest opportunity afforded them at a popular election, to manifest their confidence in Andrew Jackson, and to secure to themselves the benefit of his judgment and counsel. He was chosen a member of the convention, assembled to frame the republican constitution of the state, assumed the duties of the office, and entered upon its discharge with conscientious respect for its responsibilities, and a deep anxiety firmly to establish those fundamental principles which are embraced in the comprehensive expression of the "rights of man." The constitution which was established, asserts among its provisions two great and leading propositions, which he always defended as maxims, and followed as the guides of his political life—the inherent, indefeasible, and uncontrollable sovereignty of the people, and the injustice and enormity of perpetuities and monopolies—those insidious and cruel instrumentalities by which the prosperity of the many has been subjugated to the unjust advancement of the few—the bane of peace, and of all private, and therefore of all national prosperity.

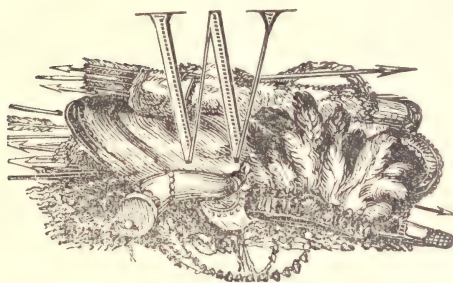
In the formation of this constitution, Andrew Jackson took a conspicuous part; and the principles which he avowed on this occasion furnish the foundation on which were based the leading features of his political life.





CHAPTER V.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CREEK WAR.



E now come to a new and important era in the life of Jackson. The prolonged aggressions of Great Britain upon the maritime rights,

commerce, and honour of America, effectually aroused the spirit of the American people. Hostilities becoming unavoidable, Congress, on the 12th of June, 1812, declared war against the United Kingdoms, and authorized the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers.

General Jackson, though watchful of events, and keenly alive to their bearing, had retired from public life, and was engaged in the calm pursuits of agriculture. The sound of war was welcome in his seclusion, for it summoned him to a deathless renown. It came to his quick ear like a long wished-for permit to avenge the wrongs of those, for whom he was ever ready to sacrifice, without stint, his repose, his fortune, and his blood. The war-cry of his country scarcely vibrated on the breeze, ere he echoed it back as music, with which every chord of his soul was in unison. On the 25th of June, thirteen days after the declaration of war, he left his ripe harvest drooping for the sickle, and offered to the general government, through the executive of Tennessee, his services, with those of twenty-five hundred brave men, who had flocked to his standard on the first certain sound of war.

On the 12th of July, the Secretary of War wrote to the Governor of Tennessee, "The tender of service by General Jackson and those under his command, is received by the president with peculiar satisfaction; and in accepting their services, the president cannot withhold an expression of his admiration of the zeal and ardour by which they are animated." In conveying to General Jackson this acceptance of his services, the governor tendered *his* thanks to him for the honour done his state by the prompt manner in which those services had been offered.

In November he received orders to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then thought to be in danger. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, those troops rendezvoused at

Nashville, prepared to advance to the place of their destination; and although the weather was then excessively severe, and the ground covered with snow, no body of men could have displayed greater firmness. The general was with them everywhere, inspiring them with the ardour which animated his own bosom. The cheerful spirit with which they submitted to hardships and bore privations, at the very outset of their military career, as well as the order and subordination they so readily observed, were happy presages of what might be expected, when they should be directed to face an enemy.

On the 7th of January, 1813, in the heart of winter, these hardy sons of Tennessee embarked upon their voyage of more than a thousand miles. The earth was covered with snow; the rivers were full of running ice. Unappalled by the difficulties of the navigation, undismayed by the dangers with which they were surrounded, they overcame every obstacle, sailed down the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, and on the 15th of February, they landed at Natchez. Here Jackson was instructed to remain, until he should receive further orders.

Having chosen a healthy site for the encampment of his troops, about two miles from Washington, Jackson devoted himself to the most important duty of a commanding-general—the organization and discipline of his army. Having none but volunteer troops around him—young men educated in unrestrained freedom, accustomed to no other words of authority but their own commands to their obedient slaves, his task was difficult indeed. But by his example, his

persuasive eloquence appealing to their honour and patriotism; by his inflexible justice, and unwavering firmness, those young men were made cheerfully to submit to the privations of the camp, and the discipline of military life. They loved their general; they had faith in his capacity, his justice and his bravery. By the magic of love and faith, a band of raw recruits were soon converted into an enthusiastic, well-trained, and invincible army.

What must have been the mortification of this little patriotic band, when the order unexpectedly came for their discharge? The clouds of war in the south having blown over, the Secretary of War wrote to General Jackson, "On the receipt of this letter, you will consider the corps under your command as dismissed from the public service, and take measures to have delivered to Major-General Wilkinson, all articles of public property which may have been put into its possession."

A deeper wound could not have been inflicted on a patriotic spirit than this cruel and unexpected order of government. By great exertions and personal sacrifices Jackson had called together, organized, and disciplined a band of ardent youth, eager to devote themselves to the cause of their country. Suddenly, and without cause, they are ordered to be discharged, and sent home without arms, without tents, without provisions, or camp equipage of any kind. One hundred and fifty of them were on the sick report. Their homes were far distant, they had to march through a country without roads, without the means of shelter or subsistence, and filled with hostile Indians. To

disband them under such circumstances, to find their way home as they could, through a savage and wilderness country, was to subject them to the certain horrors of the tomahawk, disease, and famine.

But the order was plain and direct. Whenever it met him, under whatever circumstances, the corps under his command was to be dismissed from the public service. What was to be done? He called a council of field officers, who advised obedience to the order. An ordinary man, the mere slave of routine and detail, would have complied; followed strictly the letter of his order without consideration of circumstances, abandoned his army, and retired in disgust.

Great as was the astonishment which the decision of his officers excited in the general, it produced a still higher sentiment of indignation. "What!" said he, "shall the word of Andrew Jackson be forfeited? Did I not promise to be a father and a friend to these young men, when, in obedience to my call, they flocked to the standard of their country? What did I promise to the daughters of Tennessee, that cold and snowy day, last December, when we struck our tents, and took up the line of march? Did they not gather around me with tears in their eyes and say, 'General! General! I trust my father to you—my husband—my son—General! I know you will take care of them—I know you will see that justice is done them, and that they come safely back home—General, I have faith in you, and I know you will not disappoint me.' Shall I now dismiss them to wander through a savage wilderness, without subsistence or means of defence—or shall I abandon them in their frail condition to

enlist at once in Wilkinson's army, whose recruiting officers are already among us to entice them away? It shall not be done. I will march them back as they came, and dismiss them like honourable soldiers on the ground where they first assembled."

The resolution thus taken, he lost no time in communicating to the Secretary of War. When General Wilkinson, to whom the public property was directed to be delivered, learned that the determination had been taken to march the troops back, and to take with them so much of that property as should be necessary to their return, he admonished Jackson, in a letter of solemn and mysterious import, of the awful and dangerous responsibility he was taking on himself by that measure. General Jackson replied that his conduct, and the consequences to which it might lead, had been deliberately weighed, and that he was prepared to abide the result. Wilkinson had previously given orders to his officers to recruit from Jackson's army; they were advised, however, on their first appearance, that those troops were already in the service of the United States, and that thus situated, they should not be enlisted.

The quarter-master was ordered to provide conveyance for the sick and baggage, and ostensibly commenced to execute the order; but, as the event proved, he was merely amusing the general by a show of compliance. Perceiving his object, Jackson seized upon the wagons which were in camp, eleven in number, and commenced his march homeward.

"When about to take up the line of march, the surgeon reported one young man as dying, and that



The sick soldier.

it was useless for him to cumber the already overloaded wagons. 'So long as there is life in him,' says Jackson, 'he shall go.' He gave up his own horse for the sick, as did his staff, and marched on foot. When the young man who was reported to be dying recovered from his swoon, he exclaimed, 'Where am I?' 'On your way home, my good fellow,' said Jackson, who was trudging along through the mud by his side. The young man immediately revived, and began to mend from that hour; and when they reached Nashville, the good general had the pleasure to restore him safe and sound to his mother.'*^{*}

In order to defray the unavoidable expenses of the march, he borrowed five thousand dollars on his *own private credit*. On arriving at Nashville, he communicated to the president of the United States, the course he had pursued, and the reasons that induced it. His

* Garland's Eulogy.

conduct was approved of, the expenses incurred directed to be paid, and the troops were paid up to the time of their discharge at Nashville.

The conduct of General Jackson on this occasion, in refusing to obey the orders of government, has been considered as an act of disobedience more worthy to be blamed than praised. But those who thus regard it, have not a just view of the question. When the officers of government issue their orders to a commanding general on a remote field of operations, where their knowledge of localities is limited, and their means of communication slow and uncertain, they assume a certain state of things to exist, on which their orders are predicated. But when the commands of government reach the officer whose duty it is to execute them, the actual posture of affairs may be wholly different from what was anticipated, and an execution of them may cause harm rather than good to the public service. In such a case, it is presumed that the commanding officer has so much of the confidence of his government, as to warrant him in assuming the responsibility of varying the execution of his orders to suit the actual state of things, and throwing himself on the justice and magnanimity of his country for justification. It is true that this is a difficult and delicate task to perform. None but a most extraordinary man can venture on it. It requires a clear and comprehensive intellect to see through and understand the real circumstances in which he is placed, a bold and firm heart to execute what the judgment approves. Such a man was Andrew Jackson. He who, when a boy in the dungeon of Camden, did not fear to speak

the truth, would not, when a man, under the most trying circumstances, fail to act the truth.

When government issued their orders to disband his army, it was on the supposition that he had not left the borders of Tennessee. Neither had he, at that time; for it was dated January 7th, two days before he started from Nashville. Little did they know, however, of the promptness and energy of the man they had to deal with. Instead of finding him lingering on the Cumberland, their orders found him at the termination of his march, at the point where he was ordered to await further instructions, with an army already organized, equipped, and disciplined for service. When, therefore, they came to understand the grounds on which he had declined full obedience to their commands, they not only approved, but justified his conduct, and promptly paid the five thousand dollars he had borrowed at Natchez, on his own responsibility, to sustain his troops on their homeward march.

Although shamefully treated, and sought to be disgraced by the machinations of jealous rivals, Jackson was not, like ordinary men, disgusted and driven from the service of his country. When he arrived at Nashville, he again offered himself and his brave volunteers to the war department, and asked to be marched to the northern frontiers, that they might wipe out there the recent disgrace of the treachery and defeat of General Hull. "I have a few standards," says he, "with the American eagle upon them, that I long to plant on the ramparts of Malden." No disappointments could discourage him—no ill-treat-

ment could disgust him, while the cause of his country called for his services.*

Though his country professed not to need those services along the Canada lines, it was not long before he was called to defend the borders of Tennessee from the tomahawk of the ruthless savage.

The celebrated Indian, Francis, better known as the Prophet, who was actively engaged in stimulating the northern tribes to hostilities against the United States, sent his brother Tecumseh to the nations of the south, to communicate his wishes and bring them into his plans. The Prophet, as he was called, claimed to be specially commissioned by the Great Spirit to expound his will to the Indian nations; and his authority was universally acknowledged by his brethren. He succeeded in exciting a universal feeling of enmity to the United States, and instigated the Indians to the most savage warfare. Tecumseh arrived in the Creek nation early in 1812, and immediately endeavoured to persuade the chiefs to take up the hatchet. They declined, however, to make war against the United States, from whom the nation annually received valuable presents and other substantial assurances of friendship. Defeated in this quarter, Tecumseh next tried his influence with the young men of the tribe; and there he met with more success. They listened eagerly to his descriptions of the wrongs suffered by their countrymen from the whites, and their spirits warmed into enthusiasm under his stirring appeals to them to rise, and take a full measure of vengeance.

* Garland's Eulogy.

They were also promised the support of Great Britain, and were encouraged to hope for an easy victory. This ardour, however, was repressed by the artful chief, who represented to them the great importance of preserving perfect secrecy until the moment should arrive for a general attack. Having established a perfect organization of the Creek nation, independent of and unknown to the chiefs, Tecumseh returned home, to assist his brother in carrying his plans into effect. Before these preparations were completed, however, an incident occurred which precipitated the Creeks into open war. A constant communication being now kept up between the northern and southern Indians, parties were continually passing between their countries, by whom depredations were often committed upon the frontier settlers. Several persons were barbarously murdered in the summer of 1812, near the mouth of the Ohio; and shortly afterwards, the savages put to death several whole families, within the state of Tennessee. Colonel Hawkins, the United States Agent, demanded that the murderers should be punished; and the chiefs, who continued friendly to the government, ordered them to be put to death; and several were actually executed. This act of the chiefs excited the fury of the young warriors to such a degree, that they could no longer restrain their hatred for the whites, and broke into open war. The peacefully inclined among them were compelled to seek refuge with the white inhabitants, and the hostile party commenced the most horrible of all warfares upon the unprotected frontier settlements. They were instigated to the commission of these acts, not only by the



Tecumseh.

persuasions of Tecumseh, but by the emissaries of England and Spain. From the same sources they procured abundant supplies of arms and ammunition, and received promises of donations equal or superior in value to those which they had been in the habit of receiving from the government of the United States.

MASSACRE AT FORT MINNIS.



The first effects of these infernal machinations were felt by the people of Mississippi, then a thinly settled territory, and totally unprovided with the means of efficient resistance. As a sort of frontier guard, or protection against the roving parties of savages who frequently plundered the settlers, a garrison of one hundred and fifty men had been stationed in what was known as the Tensaw Settlement. A small fortification had been erected at Tensaw, called Fort Mimms, in which the troops were stationed. At the commencement of the hostile movements among the Indians, the inhabitants of the settlement took refuge in the fort, increasing the number of its inmates to three hundred and seventy souls. Against this post the Creeks resolved that their first blow should be struck. On the 30th of August, about one thousand warriors, armed to the teeth, and stimulated by lust and vengeance, attacked the fort with indescribable fury. The garrison made a gallant resistance, but their desperate bravery availed nothing against such a disparity of numbers. Major Beasley, the commander, with his little band of soldiers, fell beneath the tomahawks of the savages, whose merciless enmity spared neither women nor children from the general slaughter. Those of the inmates of the fort who were unable to aid in its defence, had taken refuge from the balls in an old building within the walls. When the savages burst through the gates, they set fire to this building, and its unhappy inmates perished horribly in the flames. The enemy, however, paid dearly for his inhuman triumph. The gallant band of heroes under Major Beasley killed more than their own number,

notwithstanding the superior force they had to contend with; and these brave men reposed in death upon mountains of the slain foemen. Seventeen persons only of the garrison escaped to tell the melancholy tale.

The recital of their story roused the whole people of the west to the danger which threatened them, and produced a universal cry for vengeance. The people of Tennessee, not immediately exposed to the ravages of the enemy, but sympathizing with their unfortunate brethren of Mississippi, took energetic measures to afford them relief. A numerous collection of respectable citizens, who convened at Nashville, on the 18th of September, 1813, for the purpose of devising the most effectual means of affording protection to their brethren in distress, after conferring with the governor, and General Jackson, strongly advised the propriety of marching a sufficient army into the heart of the Creek country; and accordingly recommended this measure with great earnestness to the legislature, which a few days afterwards commenced its session. That body immediately enacted a law authorizing the executive to call into service thirty-five hundred of the militia, to march against the Indians; and to guard against all difficulties, in the event of the general government omitting to adopt them into their service, three hundred thousand dollars were voted for their support.

Additional reasons were at hand why active operations should be commenced with the least possible delay. The settlers were all hastening to the interior, and every day brought intelligence that the Creeks,

collected in great force, were bending their course towards the frontiers of Tennessee. The anxiety felt on the occasion was greatly increased from an apprehension that General Jackson would not be able to command. He was the only man known in the state who was believed to be qualified for discharging the arduous duties of the station, and who could carry with him the complete confidence of his soldiers. He was at this time seriously indisposed, and confined to his room, with a fractured arm, occasioned by a pistol ball received in the duel with Dickinson; but, although this apprehension was seriously indulged, arrangements were in progress and measures industriously taken to prepare and press the expedition with every possible despatch.

The governor issued an order to General Jackson, who, notwithstanding the state of his health, had determined to assume the command, requiring him to call out and rendezvous at Fayetteville, in the shortest possible time, two thousand of the militia and volunteers of his division, to repel any invasion that might be contemplated. Colonel Coffee, in addition to five hundred cavalry already raised and under his command, was authorized and instructed to organize and receive into his regiment any mounted riflemen who might make a tender of their services.

Having received these orders, Jackson directed Colonel Coffee, with his cavalry, to hasten on to the neighbourhood of Huntsville, and occupy some eligible position for the defence of the frontier, until the infantry could arrive; the latter, consisting partly of those volunteers who had descended the Mississippi to

Natchez, were called upon and directed to appear at Fayetteville, on the 4th of October, 1813, equipped and armed for active service. He pointed out the imperative necessity which demanded their services, and urged them to be punctual; for their frontiers were threatened with invasion by a savage foe. "Already," said he, "are large bodies of the hostile Creeks marching to your borders, with their scalping-knives unsheathed, to butcher your women and children; time is not to be lost. We must hasten to the frontier, or we shall find it drenched in the blood of our citizens! The health of your general is restored—he will command in person."

When the voice of their beloved commander was thus heard, the sons of Tennessee hastened to his standard. He who had stood by them and brought them safely home six months before, could not fail to procure their services whenever called for. We may well imagine that the women vied with the men in their zeal and alacrity. "Go, my son! go, my husband! Jackson, your father and friend, calls you—your country is in danger—go, help him to chastise the savages—he will take care of you, and bring you safely back home, or lay you surrounded with glory on the field of battle. He did not forsake you—do not you forsake him."*

Every exertion was now made to hasten the preparations for a vigorous campaign. The necessary orders were issued to the quarter-master, and the contractors. When the day of rendezvous had ar-

* Garland's Eulogy.

rived, the general not being sufficiently recovered of his wound, sent by his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, an address, to be read to the troops, accompanied by an order for the establishment of the police of the camp. In this address he pointed to the unprovoked injuries that had been so long inflicted by this horde of merciless and cruel savages, and entreated his soldiers to evince that zeal in the defence of their country, which the importance of the moment so much required. His address was as follows: "We are about to furnish these savages a lesson of admonition;—we are about to teach them that our long forbearance has not proceeded from an insensibility to wrongs, or inability to redress them. They stand in need of such warning. In proportion as we have borne with their insults, and submitted to their outrages, have they multiplied in number, and increased in atrocity. But the measure of their offences is at length filled. The blood of our women and children, recently spilled at Fort Mimms, calls for our vengeance; it must not call in vain. Our borders must no longer be disturbed by the war-whoop of these savages, or the cries of suffering victims. The torch that has been lighted up, must be made to blaze in the heart of their own country. It is time they should be made to feel the weight of a power, which, because it was merciful, they believed to be impotent. But how shall a war so long forborne, and so loudly called for by retributive justice, be waged? Shall we imitate the example of our enemies, in the disorder of their movements, and the savageness of their dispositions? Is it worthy the character of American soldiers, who take up

arms to redress the wrongs of an injured country, to assume no better model than that furnished them by barbarians? No, fellow-soldiers; great as are the grievances that have called us from our homes, we must not permit disorderly passions to tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us; we must and will be victorious; but we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance, and who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity!

“We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to subordination and discipline. Without a strict observance of these, victory must ever be uncertain, and ought hardly to be exulted in, even when gained. To what but the entire disregard of order and subordination are we to ascribe the disasters which have attended our arms in the north during the present war? How glorious it will be to remove the blots which have tarnished the fair character bequeathed us by the fathers of our revolution! The bosom of your general is full of hope. He knows the ardour which animates you, and already exults in the triumph, which your strict observance of discipline and good order will render certain.”

For the police of his camp, he announced the following order:

“The chain of sentinels will be marked, and the sentries posted, precisely at ten o’clock to-day.

“No sutler will be suffered to sell spirituous liquors to any soldier, without permission in writing from a commissioned officer, under the penalties prescribed by the rules and articles of war.

“No citizen will be permitted to pass the chain of

sentinels after retreat-beat in the evening, until reveille in the morning. Drunkenness, the bane of all orderly encampments, is positively forbidden, both in officers and privates: officers, under the penalty of immediate arrest: and privates, of being placed under guard, there to remain until liberated by a court-martial.

“At reveille beat, all officers and soldiers are to appear on parade, with their arms and accoutrements in proper order.

“On parade, silence, the duty of a soldier, is positively commanded.

“No officer or soldier is to sleep out of camp, but by permission obtained.”

Impatient to join his division, although his health was far from being restored, his arm only beginning to heal, the general set out for the encampment, and reached it on the 7th. Finding, on his arrival, that the requisition was not complete, either in the number of men, or the necessary equipments, measures were instantly taken to remedy the deficiency; but before his arrangements were completed he received the most urgent requests to hasten towards the enemy's country. Colonel Coffee, who commanded a regiment of mounted riflemen, and who had been ordered to advance towards Huntsville, sent an express to the general, requesting him to advance to his support, as the enemy contemplated a speedy attack upon the frontiers with a large force. Influenced by these representations, General Jackson marched from his encampment on the 10th, and reached Huntsville the same evening. On the following day, he united his force with that of Colonel Coffee, who had advanced

to the Tennessee river, and crossed it at Pitts's Landing. Coffee was detached with seven hundred mounted men, to scour the country, near the Big Warrior and Tombigbee rivers. The main body remained seven days at Pitts's Landing, which time was diligently occupied by the general in disciplining his troops.

The most harassing part of the duties of the general, however, was that which unexpectedly devolved upon him, of making provision for the sustenance of his army. General Cocke, who commanded the militia of East Tennessee, had promised that a sufficient quantity of provisions should be in readiness for the army as it advanced, and Jackson had depended upon his engagement. He now found, however, that the contractors were not able to furnish the army with rations for any length of time; although they had stated that they would have provisions for twenty days ready for delivery when the troops reached the Tennessee river. The prospect was one which would have shaken the resolution of many men of strong nerve; but the mind of Jackson saw no difficulty too great to be surmounted. Having received such provisions as were in the hands of the contractors, he discharged them from their engagements, and employed others more capable of fulfilling their duties.

General Cocke, with twenty-five hundred men which he had under his command, had been ordered to unite with Jackson; who waited several days, and then marched up the river to Thompson's Creek, where he remained in hourly expectation of reinforcements and provisions. But there was no arrival, and no prospect of an arrival. In this state of things, without the re-

inforcements thought necessary to enable him to cope with the savages, with only two days' provision on the backs of his soldiers, he resolved to march down into the heart of the enemy's country, where he knew that nothing would be found but barren woods, deserted villages, and hostile armies. For boldness of design, and a fearless reliance on his own resources, this act is unsurpassed by any of the renowned achievements of Hannibal or Napoleon. Bent on the accomplishment of the object for which he was called into the field, no pressing necessity, no prospective want or suffering could arrest him. Any ordinary general would have waited, and he would have been justified by military rule in waiting where he was for supplies and reinforcements. But General Jackson was not a man of rule—he would not tarry while there was an enemy to conquer. Press forward he must, or chafe away his ardent soul with anxiety and regret. He carried within his own bosom the never-failing elements of success. He had faith in himself, faith in the boundless resources of a brave heart that conquers impossibilities—he had that deep and trustful faith in the providence of God, which alone can remove mountains, and stamps its possessor with the mark of true greatness.*

To prepare his troops for an engagement which he foresaw was soon to take place, he thus addressed them :

“ You have, fellow-soldiers, at length penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed that they will abandon the soil that embosoms the

bones of their forefathers, without furnishing you an opportunity of signaling your valour. Wise men do not expect, brave men will not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested through a barren wilderness, that you have quitted your families and homes, and submitted to so many privations; it was to avenge the cruelties committed upon our defenceless frontiers by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their no less inhuman allies; you shall not be disappointed. If the enemy flee before us, we will overtake and chastise him; we will teach him how dreadful, when once aroused, is the resentment of freemen. But it is not by boasting, that punishment is to be inflicted, or victory obtained. The same resolution that prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us in battle. Men thus animated, and thus resolved, barbarians can never conquer; and it is an enemy barbarous in the extreme that we have now to face. Their reliance will be on the damage they can do you whilst you are asleep and unprepared for action; their hopes shall fail them in the hour of experiment. Soldiers who know their duty and are ambitious to perform it are not to be taken by surprise. Our sentinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action: yet, whilst it is enjoined upon the sentinels vigilantly to watch the approach of the foe, they are at the same time commanded not to fire at shadows. Imaginary danger must not deprive them of entire self-possession. Our soldiers will lie with their arms in their hands; and the moment an alarm is given, they will move to their respective positions, without noise and without confusion; they will be thus enabled to hear

the orders of their officers, and to obey them with promptitude.

“Great reliance will be placed by the enemy on the consternation they may be able to spread through our ranks by the hideous yells with which they commence their battles ; but brave men will laugh at such efforts to alarm them. It is not by bellowings and screams that the wounds of death are inflicted. You will teach these noisy assailants how weak are their weapons of warfare, by opposing them with the bayonet ; what Indian ever withstood its charge ? what arms, of any nation, ever withstood it long ?

“Yes, soldiers, the order for a charge, will be the signal for victory. In that moment your enemy will be seen fleeing in every direction before you. But in the moment of action, coolness and deliberation must be regarded ; your fires made with precision and aim ; and when ordered to charge with the bayonet, you must proceed to the assault with a quick and firm step ; without trepidation or alarm. Then shall you behold the completion of your hopes in the discomfiture of your enemy. Your general, whose duty as well as inclination is to watch over your safety, will not, to gratify any wishes of his own, rush you unnecessarily into danger. He knows, however, that it is not in assailing an enemy that men are destroyed ; it is when retreating and in confusion. Aware of this, he will be prompted as much by a regard for your lives, as for your honour. He laments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to hint at a retreat when speaking to freemen and soldiers. Never, until you forget all that is due to yourselves and your country, will you have

any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy, wholly unacquainted with military evolution, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages, and hideous yells, than upon their bravery or their weapons; shall such an enemy ever drive before them the well-trained youths of our country, whose bosoms pant for glory, and a desire to avenge the wrongs they have received? Your general will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy, and submit himself to their scalping-knives. But he has no fears of such a result; he knows the valour of the men he commands, and how certainly that valour, regulated as it will be, will lead to victory. With his soldiers he will face all dangers, and with them participate in the glory of conquest."

Having thus prepared the minds of his men, and brought to their view the kind of foe with whom they were shortly to contend, and having also instructed General White, who commanded the advance of General Cocke's regiment, to form a junction with him, and to hasten on all the supplies in his power to command, he again put his army in motion to reach the enemy.

Two runners now arrived from Turkey Town, who had been despatched by Path-Killer, a chief of the Cherokees; they brought information that the enemy from nine of the hostile towns were assembling in great force near the Ten Islands; and solicited that immediate assistance should be afforded the friendly Creeks and Cherokees in their neighbourhood, who were exposed to such imminent danger. Jackson replied to the Path-Killer, by his runners, that he should



Indian runner.

proceed directly for the Coosa, and solicited him to be diligent in making discoveries of the situation and collected force of the savages, and to give him the result of his enquiries. "The hostile Creeks," he remarked to him, "will not attack you until they have had a brush with me; and that, I think, will put them out of the notion of fighting for some time." He concluded his message by requesting him to send to the army provisions of any kind, or information where any might be had which would support life.

He had advanced but a short distance, when famine obliged him to stop. The contractors who had been so much relied on were unable to furnish the necessary supplies for the army. Jackson, impelled by necessity, took the contract from them, and at the instance of Major Rose, of the quarter-master's department, gave it to Mr. Pope, of Madison county, upon whose means and exertions it was thought confidence could be placed. To the other contractors he wrote, informing them of the change that had been made, and the reasons which had induced it.

"I am advised," said he, "that you have candidly

acknowledged that you have it not in your power to execute the contract in which you have engaged. Do not think I mean to cast any reflection—very far from it. I am exceedingly pleased with the exertions you have made, and feel myself under many obligations of gratitude for them. The critical situation of affairs when you entered into the contract being considered, you have done all that individuals in your circumstances could have performed. But you must be well convinced that any approbation which may be felt by the commander of an army for past services, ought not to become the occasion of that army's destruction. From the admissions you have been candid enough to make, the scarcity which already begins to appear in camp, and the difficulties you are likely to encounter in effecting your engagements, I am apprehensive I should be doing injustice to the army I command were I to rely for support on your exertions—great as I know them to be. Whatever concerns myself, I may manage with any generosity or indulgence I please; but in acting for an army, I have no such discretion. I have therefore felt myself compelled to give the contract in which you are concerned to another, who is abundantly able to execute it, on condition he indemnify you for the trouble you have been at."

This arrangement being made, the army continued its march, and General Jackson, to prevent further delays, wrote to various sources, calling, in the most pressing manner, for supplies. He wrote thus to the Governor of Georgia, with whose forces it was proposed to act in concert; to Colonel Meigs, agent to

the Cherokees, and to Generals Cocke and White. Having arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands, he was met by old Chinnaby, a leading chief of the Creek nation, and sternly opposed to the war party. The troops were here again detained a day, for the purpose of obtaining small supplies of corn from the neighbouring friendly Indians. This scanty acquisition, affording subsistence for the present, encouraged his hopes for the future, as a means of temporary resort, should his other resources fail. In a few days more he reached the islands of the Coosa.

In a letter to Governor Blount of Tennessee, from this place, speaking of the difficulties with which he was assailed, he observes:—"Indeed, sir, we have been very wretchedly supplied—scarcely two rations in succession have been regularly drawn; yet we are not despondent. Whilst we can procure an ear of corn apiece, or anything that will answer as a substitute for it, we shall continue our exertions to accomplish the object for which we were sent. The cheerfulness with which my men submit to privations and are ready to encounter danger, does honour to the government whose rights they are defending.

"Every means within my power for procuring the requisite supplies for my army I have taken, and am continuing to take. East, west, north, and south have been applied to with the most pressing solicitation. The Governor of Georgia, in a letter received from him this evening, informs me that a sufficiency can be had in his state; but does not signify that he is about to take any measures to procure it. My former contractor has been superseded: no exertions were spared

by him to fulfil his engagements; yet the inconveniences under which he laboured were such as to render his best exertions unavailing. The contract has been offered to one who will be able to execute it: if he accepts it, my apprehensions will be greatly diminished."

Previous to his departure from Thompson's Creek, General Jackson had detached Colonel Dyer, with instructions to attack and destroy the Indian town of Littafutches, on Canoe Creek. The expedition was entirely successful, and twenty-nine prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. Colonel Dyer rejoined the main army on the 28th of October.

The advance of the East Tennessee militia, not having yet come up, Jackson despatched another express to General White, on the 31st of October, urging him to effect a speedy junction, and to bring with him all the bread-stuffs it should be in his power to procure; pointing out to him, at the same time, the great inconvenience and hazard to which he had been already exposed by the want of punctuality in himself and General Cocke. Owing to that cause, and the late failure of his contractors, he represented his army as placed, at present, in a very precarious situation, and as dependent in a great measure for its support on the exertions which he and General Cocke might be pleased to make; but assured him at the same time, that, let circumstances transpire as they might, he would still endeavour to effect his purpose; and, at all events, was resolved to hasten, with every practicable despatch, to the accomplishment of the object for which he had set out. Believing the co-operation



Bringing in Prisoners and Cattle.

of the East Tennessee troops essential to this end, they were again instructed to join him without delay; for he could not conceive it to be correct policy, that troops from the same state, pursuing the same object, should constitute separate and distinct armies, and act without concert, and independently of each other. He entertained no doubt but that his order would be promptly obeyed.

The next evening a detachment which had been sent out the evening before returned, bringing with them, besides some corn and beeves, several negroes and Indians, prisoners of the war party.

Thus, amidst dangers, disappointments, and difficulties, which by any other man would have been considered insurmountable, did General Jackson com-

mence the Creek war. An English writer* speaking of this war says that "it was the most glorious exploit of this wonderful man. It was a campaign meriting greater praise than ten thousand lives like that of Wellington; and yet a campaign, which, before his time, had never yet been heard of in England." In commencing the narration of the events of the war, he says, he "need not bespeak the reader's wonder and admiration; for the man who will not admire here, is hardly worthy of the name of man." He "desires the English reader to prepare himself for a series of transactions wholly incredible, were they not attested by piles of official documents, the authenticity of which no man can dispute."

* William Cobbet, M. P. for Oldham.





Lincoyer.

CHAPTER VI.

TALLUSHATCHEE.



IMPATIENT of the delay, General Jackson proceeded through trackless forests and across almost impenetrable swamps, determined at all hazards, to cut his way to the enemy, and end the war by a sudden and fatal blow.

Though almost destitute of provisions, with few men, but poorly equipped, yet he turned not aside to the right hand nor to the left to wait for reinforcements or to seek supplies. On the 2d of November, the old chief, Chinnaby, brought the information to Jackson that a considerable number of the enemy had posted themselves at Tallushatchee, an Indian town on the south side of the Coosa, about thirteen miles distant. General Coffee was immediately detached, with nine hundred men, consisting of part of his brigade of cavalry and corps of mounted riflemen, with instructions to attack and defeat or disperse the enemy at Tallushatchee. Guided by a friendly Indian, Coffee crossed the Coosa at the Fish Dams, about four miles above the Islands, and encamped on the southern side of the river.

Early the next morning he proceeded to execute his orders. Having arrived within a mile and a half, he formed his detachment into two divisions, ordering one of them under Colonel Allcorn to march to the right of the town, while he with the other division passed to the left; the fronts of the two divisions to unite beyond the town and thus effectually enclose it, and prevent the escape of the enemy.

The Indians, hearing by their spies of the approach of the Americans, began to prepare for action, which was announced by the beating of drums, mingled with their savage yells and war-whoops. An hour after sunrise the action was commenced by two companies of spies, who had gone within the circle of alignment for the purpose of drawing the Indians from their buildings. No sooner had these companies exhibited



BATTLE OF TALUSHATCHEE.

their front in view of the town, and given a few scattering shot, than the enemy formed and made a violent charge. Being compelled to give way, the advanced guard were pursued until they reached the main body of the army, which immediately opened a general fire, and charged in their turn. The Indians retreated, firing, until they got around and into their buildings, where an obstinate conflict ensued, and where those who maintained their ground persisted in fighting as long as they could stand or sit, without manifesting fear or soliciting quarter. The number of the enemy killed was one hundred and eighty-six. Eighty-four women and children were taken prisoners, towards whom the greatest humanity was shown. Not one of the warriors escaped to carry the news—a circumstance heretofore unknown. Of the Americans, five were killed and forty-one wounded. Two of these were killed with arrows, which, on this occasion, formed a principal part of the arms of the Indians; each one having a bow and quiver, which he used after the first fire of his gun, until an opportunity occurred for reloading.

Having buried his dead, and provided for his wounded, General Coffee, late on the evening of the same day, united with the main army, bringing with him about forty prisoners. Of the residue, a part were too badly wounded to be removed, and were therefore left, with a sufficient number to take care of them. Those which he brought in received every comfort and assistance their situation demanded, and, for safety, were immediately sent into the settlements.

“Among these there was an infant boy, who had



Adoption of Lincoyer.

been found unhurt, suckling the lifeless breast of his Indian mother. Jackson requested the captive women to take care of the child. They refused ; ‘ All his re-

lations,' they said, 'are dead—kill him too!' Oh! how those words thrilled through the heart of the orphan general! 'All my relations, also,' thought he, 'are dead!' He took the infant to his own tent—with his own hands he fed him with sugared water—he sent him home to Nashville to become the adopted child of the Hermitage—with the aid of his willing wife he reared that boy to manhood, educated him to business, engaged all his affections—and when Lincoyer died, that affectionate and childless couple wept over his grave and remembered him as a son.'**

From the manner in which the enemy fought, the killing and wounding others than their warriors was not to be avoided. On their retreat to their village after the commencement of the battle, they resorted to their block-houses, and strong log dwellings, whence they kept up resistance, and resolutely maintained the fight. Thus mingled with their women and children, it was impossible they should not be exposed to the general danger; and many were injured, notwithstanding every possible precaution was taken to prevent it. In fact, many of the women united with their warriors, and contended in the battle with fearless bravery.

"Thus ended the battle of Tallushatchee,—a name that will ring sadly in the ear of every surviving Creek to the end of time. The terrors of that field, will, however, be remembered by all, both white and red, with mingled emotions, for it bears immortal testimony to the humanity, as well as the military genius of Jackson."†

* Bolles's Eulogy.

* Ibid.

The country, into the midst of which General Jackson had now penetrated, being filled with bands of hostile Indians, it was necessary to secure a communication with the settlements, by establishing garrisons at proper intervals along the road. He accordingly took measures to establish a permanent depot, on the north bank of the Coosa, at the Ten Islands, to be protected by strong picketing and block-houses. Well knowing that it would greatly weaken his army to occupy in his advance the different points necessary to the safety of his rear, it was desirable to unite as soon as possible with the troops of East Tennessee. To effect this, he again, on the 4th of November, despatched an express to General White, who had previously arrived at Turkey Town, a Cherokee village, about twenty-five miles up the same river, urging him to unite with the main army as soon as possible, and again entreating him to procure and forward provisions; to bring with him such as he had on hand; and to endeavour to form some certain arrangement which might ensure a supply in future. Receiving no answer from General White, he despatched another express on the 7th.

No certain intelligence had as yet been received of any considerable collection of the enemy. The army was busily engaged in fortifying and strengthening the site fixed upon for a depot, to which the name of Fort Strother had been given.



The Dinner of Acorns.

CHAPTER VII.

TALLADEGA.



LATE on the evening of the 7th of November, a runner arrived from Talladega, a fort of the friendly Indians, distant about thirty miles below, with information that the enemy had, that morning, encamped before it in great numbers, and would certainly destroy the fort, and all within it, unless immediate assistance could be afforded. Jack-

son determined to lose no time in extending the relief which was solicited. Understanding that General White was on his way to join him, he despatched *another* messenger to meet him, directing him to reach Fort Strother in the course of the ensuing night, and protect it in his absence. He then gave orders for taking up the line of march, with twelve hundred infantry, and eight hundred cavalry and mounted riflemen; leaving behind the sick, the wounded, and all his baggage, with a force which was deemed sufficient for their protection, until the reinforcement from Turkey Town should arrive.

The friendly Indians who had taken refuge in this besieged fort, had involved themselves in their present perilous situation from a disposition to preserve their amicable relations with the United States. To suffer them to fall a sacrifice from any tardiness of movement, would have been unpardonable; and unless relief was immediately extended, it might arrive too late. The same spirit which induced the general to hazard his reputation in protecting his countrymen at Natchez, induced him, without hesitation, to extend protection to those faithful natives, whose fate was identified with the success or defeat of the American arms.

Acting under these impressions, the general determined to move forward instantly to their assistance. By midnight, everything was in readiness; and in an hour afterward the army commenced crossing the river, about a mile above the camp, each of the mounted men carrying one of the infantry behind him. The river at this place was six hundred yards wide, and it being necessary to send back the horses for the

remainder of the infantry, several hours were consumed before a passage of all the troops could be effected. Nevertheless, though thus deprived of sleep, they continued the march with animation; and by evening the next day, had arrived within six miles of the enemy.

In this march, Jackson used the utmost precaution to prevent surprise; marching his army, as was his constant custom, in three columns, so that, by a speedy manœuvre, they might be thrown into such a situation as to be capable of resisting an attack from any quarter. Having judiciously encamped his men on an eligible piece of ground, he sent forward two of the friendly Indians, and a white man, named Mayfield, who had for many years been detained a captive in the nation, and was now acting as interpreter, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. About eleven o'clock at night they returned with information that the savages were posted within a quarter of a mile of the fort, and appeared to be in great force; but that they had not been able to approach near enough to ascertain either their numbers or precise situation.

Within an hour after this, old Chinnaby arrived from Turkey Town, with a letter from General White, stating, that after having taken up the line of march, to unite at Fort Strother, he had received orders from General Cocke to change his course, and proceed to the mouth of the Chautugu Creek. It was most distressing intelligence; the sick and wounded had been left with no other calculation for their safety and defence, than that this detachment of the army, agreeably to his request, would, by advancing upon Fort

Strother, serve the double purpose of protecting his rear, and enabling him to advance still farther into the enemy's country. The information which was now received proved that all those salutary anticipations were at an end, and that evils of the worst kind might be the consequence. Intelligence so disagreeable, and so unexpected, filled the mind of Jackson with apprehensions of a serious and alarming character; and, dreading lest the enemy, by taking a different route, should attack his encampment in his absence, he determined to lose no time in bringing him to battle.

Orders were accordingly given to the adjutant-general to prepare the line; and, by four o'clock the next morning, the army was again in motion. The infantry proceeded in three columns; the cavalry in the same order, in the rear, with flankers on each wing. The advance, consisting of a company of artillerymen with muskets, two companies of riflemen, and one of spies, marched about four hundred yards in front, under the command of Colonel Carroll, inspector-general, with orders, after commencing the action, to fall back on the centre, so as to draw the enemy after them. At seven o'clock, having arrived within a mile of the enemy, the columns were displayed in order of battle. Two hundred and fifty of the cavalry and mounted riflemen were placed in the rear of the centre as a *corps de reserve*. General Hall's brigade occupied the right—General Roberts' the left, and were ordered to advance by heads of companies. The cavalry were ordered, after having encircled the enemy by uniting the fronts of their columns and keeping their rear connected with the infantry, to face and



BATTLE OF TALLADEGA.

press inwards towards the centre, so as to leave the enemy no possibility of escape.

About eight o'clock, the advance having arrived within eighty yards of the shrubbery, which covered the margin of a small rivulet, received a heavy fire, which they instantly returned with much spirit. Agreeably to their instructions, they retired towards the centre, but not before they had dislodged the enemy from his position. The Indians, now screaming and yelling hideously, rushed forward in the direction of General Roberts' brigade, three companies of which, alarmed by the number and yells of their opponents, gave way after the first fire. To fill the vacancy occasioned by this retreat, Jackson ordered up the regiment of volunteers commanded by Colonel Bradley; but, finding the advance of the enemy too rapid to admit of their arrival in time, he was compelled to order the reserve to dismount and fill the chasm. This order was executed with great promptitude and gallantry, and the enemy in that quarter speedily repulsed. The militia who had retreated, seeing the spirited manner in which the reserve so promptly supplied their places, rallied, and recovering their former position in the line, aided in checking the advance of the savages. The engagement now became general, and in fifteen minutes the enemy were seen flying in every direction. On the left they were met and repulsed by the mounted riflemen. On the right a part of them escaped through the opening between the right wing of the cavalry and the infantry, which should have been filled by Bradley's regiment, and

were pursued with great slaughter to the mountains, a distance of three miles.

Jackson, in his report of this action, bestows high commendation on the officers and soldiers. "Too much praise," he observes in the close of it, "cannot be bestowed on the advance, led by Colonel Carrol, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack; nor upon the reserve, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dyer, for the gallantry with which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word, officers of every grade, as well as privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country."

"Thus did this gallant little army, scarcely pausing to eat their meager rations, but appeasing their hunger as they could with a handful of parched corn, or a few acorns snatched from the ground as they hurried on, rush ever forward, and ere the besieging force were aware of the presence of an enemy, they were wholly surrounded, and the thunderbolt of war overwhelmed them with sudden destruction."*

In the battle of Talladega the force of the enemy was one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground, and it is believed that many were killed in the flight, who were not found when the estimate was made. Probably few escaped unhurt. Their loss on this occasion as stated since by themselves, was not less than six hundred: that of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty wounded, several of whom afterwards died.

* Bolles's Eulogy.

Jackson, after collecting his dead and wounded, advanced his army beyond the fort, and encamped for the night. The Indians who had been for several days shut up by the besiegers, thus fortunately liberated from the most dreadful apprehensions and severest privations, having for some time been entirely without water, received the army with all the demonstrations of gratitude that savages could give. Their manifestations of joy for their deliverance presented an interesting and affecting spectacle. Their fears had been greatly excited, for it was the very day when they were to have been assaulted, and when every soul within the fort must have perished. All the provisions they could spare from their scanty stock they sold to the general, who, purchasing with his own money, distributed them among the soldiers who were almost destitute.

With great regret Jackson found himself unable to follow up his victory. The condition of the posts in his rear, the want of provisions, the desertion (for no milder name can be applied to these proceedings) of General Cocke, compelled him to hasten back. The enemy thus gained time to recover from their consternation, and to reassemble their forces.

The cause which prevented General White from acting in obedience to his order, and arriving at Fort Strother at a moment when it was so important, and when it was so confidently expected, was as yet unknown to the general; the only certainty upon the subject was, that for the present it wholly thwarted his views, and laid him under the painful necessity of returning, instead of penetrating farther into the en-

emy's country. This mystery, hitherto inexplicable, was some time after explained, by a view of the order of General Cocke, under which White, being a brigadier in his division, chose to act, rather than under Jackson's. General Cocke stated to him that he had called a council of officers, who had unanimously decided not to follow Jackson, but to cross the river, and proceed against the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa. This decision meeting with Cocke's approbation, he directed White forthwith to unite with him at his encampment. The only aim of Cocke in this proceeding seems to have been to thwart the views and arrest the successes of Jackson; and perhaps jealousy, in no inconsiderable degree, was the moving spring to his conduct. Both were major-generals from the state of Tennessee, sent on the same important errand, to check an insolent foe, who had practised the most cruel and unprovoked outrages. Jackson was the senior officer of the Tennessee forces, and of course claimed the right of commanding the whole that were in service. Cocke considered himself as possessing a command independent of Jackson. This circumstance produced division, and a collision of orders, when all should have been union and harmony, and, as we shall see, was the means of greatly lengthening the war.

Having buried his dead with the honours of war, and provided litters for the wounded, General Jackson reluctantly commenced his return march on the morning succeeding the battle. In this short march the soldiers were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. "A soldier in the rear of the army

perceived Jackson seated under an oak tree, leisurely eating.* ‘Well,’ thought he, ‘the general has taken good care of himself, and left the poor soldier to starve. I’ll go and beg a morsel of bread.’ ‘Yes,’ said the general, ‘I never turn away the hungry;’ and offering a handful of acorns, added, ‘I will most cheerfully divide with you such food as I have.’ The soldier gazed with tearful and mute admiration on his now thrice beloved chief, and marched on with a more cheerful heart. There is nothing the soldier will not endure, when shared by his leader.”†

The general confidently hoped, from the previous assurances of the contractors, that by the time of his return to Fort Strother, sufficient supplies would have arrived there; but, to his inexpressible uneasiness, he found that not a particle had been forwarded since his departure, and that, what had been left, was already consumed. A scanty supply of beef, taken from the enemy, or purchased of the Cherokees, was now the only support afforded. Thus left destitute, Jackson, with the utmost cheerfulness of temper, repaired to the bullock-pen; and of the offal there thrown away, provided for himself and staff, what he was pleased to call, and seemed really to think, a very comfortable repast.

While General Jackson remained wholly unmoved by his own privations, he was filled with solicitude and concern for his army. His utmost exertions, unceasingly applied, were insufficient to remove the sufferings to which he saw them exposed; and, though

*See page 127.

†Garland’s Eulogy.



Soldiers concocting Mutiny.

they were by no means so great as they themselves represented, yet were undoubtedly such as to be severely felt. "The general had now to contend with a more formidable enemy even than famine—mutiny in his own camp. The main body of the army consisted of two regiments—the regiment of volunteers that had followed him to Natchez the winter before—and a regiment of drafted militia. The militia, disgusted with the neglect and ill-treatment they had received, instigated by their officers, and seized with the home-fever, resolved to quit the camp, and return to Tennessee. Apprised of their design, Jackson drew up the regiment of volunteers in their front, and ordered them to fire whenever the mutineers com

menced their march. Awed by this act of boldness, the militia returned to their duty.

“What was the mortification of the general, next morning, to find the volunteers themselves in a state of rebellion! Those very men whom he would not abandon in their hour of need, were now ready to abandon him, their camp, and their duty. Unappalled by this rapid succession of calamities, the ready mind and prompt will of Jackson did not fail him. The militia, whose rebellion had been conquered but the day before, were now drawn up to oppose this new mutiny; and so stern and resolute were their countenances, that the volunteers thought it best to desist from their purposes, and return to camp.”*

From this time the militia manifested a much more obedient and patriotic disposition than the volunteers; who, having adopted a course which they discovered must finally involve them in dishonour if it should fail, were exceedingly anxious for its success, and that it might have the appearance of being founded on justice. On this subject the pretensions of the cavalry were certainly much better established; as they were entirely without forage, and without any prospect of soon obtaining any. They petitioned, therefore, to be permitted to return into the settled parts of the country, pledging themselves, by their platoon and field-officers, that if sufficient time were allowed to recruit the exhausted state of their horses, and to procure their winter clothing, they would return to the performance of their duty whenever called on. The general, un-

*Garland's Eulogy.

able from many causes to prosecute the campaign, and confiding in the assurance given, granted the prayer of their petition, and they immediately set out on their return.

About this time General Jackson's hope of being able to maintain the conquests he had made, began to be confirmed by letters just received from the contractors, and principal wagon-masters, stating that sufficient supplies for the army were then on the road, and would shortly arrive; but discontents, to an alarming degree, still prevailed in his camp. To allay them, if possible, he hastened to lay before the division the information and letters he had received; and, at the same time, invited the field and platoon-officers to his quarters, to consult on the measures to be pursued. Having assembled them, and well knowing that the flame of discontent, which had so lately shown itself, was only for the present smothered, and might burst forth in serious injury, he addressed them in an animated speech, in which he extolled their patriotism and achievements; lamented the privations to which they had been exposed, and endeavoured to reanimate them by the prospect of speedy relief, which he expected with confidence on the following day. He spoke of the conquests they had already made, and of the dreadful consequences that must result should they now be abandoned.

"What," continued he, "is the present situation of our camp? a number of our fellow-soldiers are wounded and unable to help themselves. Shall it be said that we are so lost to humanity as to leave them in this condition? Can any one, under these circum-

stances and under these prospects, consent to an abandonment of the camp; of all that we have acquired in the midst of so many difficulties, privations, and dangers; of what it will cost us so much to regain; of what we never can regain,—our brave wounded companions who will be murdered by our unthinking, unfeeling inhumanity? Surely there can be none such! No, we will take with us when we go, our wounded and sick. They must not,—shall not perish by our cold blooded indifference. But why should you despond? I do not, and yet your wants are not greater than mine. To be sure, we do not live sumptuously: but no one has died of hunger, or is likely to die; and then how animating are our prospects! Large supplies are at Deposit, and already are officers despatched to hasten them on. Wagons are on the way; a large number of beeves are in the neighbourhood; and detachments are out to bring them in.—All these resources surely cannot fail. I have no wish to starve you—none to deceive you. Stay contentedly, and if supplies do not arrive in two days, we will all march back together, and throw the blame of our failure where it should properly lie; until then, we certainly have the means of subsisting; and if we are compelled to bear privations, let us remember that they are borne for our country, and are not greater than many, perhaps most armies have been compelled to endure. I have called you together to tell you my feelings and my wishes; this evening think on them seriously; and let me know yours in the morning.”

Having retired to their tents and deliberated on the

measures most proper to be adopted in this emergency, the officers of the volunteer brigade came to the conclusion that "nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements could prevent those difficulties and that disgrace which must attend a forcible desertion of the camp by his soldiers." The officers of the militia determined differently, and reported a willingness to maintain the post a few days longer, that it might be ascertained whether or not a sufficiency of provisions could be had. "If it can, let us proceed with the campaign;—if not, let us be marched back to where it can be procured." The general, who greatly preferred the latter opinion, was nevertheless disposed to gratify those who appeared unwilling to submit to further hardships; and with this view ordered General Hall to march the volunteers to Fort Deposit, and after satisfying their wants, to return, and act as an escort to the provisions. One-half of the brigade however, unwilling to be outdone by the militia, consented to remain, and the other half proceeded alone. On this occasion he could not forbear to remark, that men for whom he cherished so strong an affection, and for whom he was willing to sacrifice every thing but honour, desiring to abandon him at a moment when their presence was so particularly necessary, filled him with emotions which the strongest language was too feeble to express. "I was prepared," he continued, "to endure every evil but disgrace, and as I never can submit to this myself, I can give no encouragement to it in others."

Two days had now elapsed since the departure of the volunteers, and no supplies had arrived. The mi-



litia with great earnestness demanded a performance of the pledge which had been given them, that they should be marched back to the settlements. From information lately received, Jackson was confident that relief was not far distant ; but having pledged himself, he could use no arguments or entreaties to detain them any longer, and immediately took measures for complying with their wishes and the promise he had made them. This was to him a moment of the deepest dejection. While thus pondering on the gloomy prospects, he lifted up his hands and exclaimed, with a look and manner which showed how much he felt, "If only two men will remain with me, I will never abandon this post." Captain Gordon, of the spies, facetiously replied, "You have one, general, let us look if we can't find another ;" and immediately, with a zeal suited to the occasion, undertook, with some of the general's staff, to raise volunteers ; and, in a little while, succeeded in procuring one hundred and nine, who declared a determination to remain and protect the post.

The general then set out towards Deposit with the remainder of the army, who were made distinctly to understand that, on meeting supplies, they were to return and prosecute the campaign. They did meet supplies, not far from the camp ; but, so far from returning, they seemed more determined to go forward. Going alone among his men, to appease them by argument and remonstrance, Jackson found the spirit of mutiny so prevalent and determined, that he seized a musket, stood out in front of the brigade, and, being still without the use of his left arm, levelled the

weapon across the neck of his horse, and proclaimed that the first man who moved in the ranks should be shot down. Mute astonishment seized on the whole army—no one moved—no one spoke. What was one emaciated and wounded man to a thousand—one musket to a thousand in the hands of unerring marksmen? It was not fear that awed these brave men, but astonishment and admiration at the daring, the magnanimity, and heroic self-sacrifice of the man that stood before them. A murmur of applause ran along the lines, and they signified their willingness to return.* It is very certain that but for the firmness of the general at this critical moment, the campaign would for the present have been broken up, and would probably never have been recommenced.

* Garland's Eulogy.





Hillabee Deputies.

CHAPTER VIII.

HILLABEE TOWNS—DESERTIONS AND
MUTINY—GEORGIA VICTORIES.



SHORT time after the victory at Talladega, General Jackson received deputies from the Hillabee tribes,

who had formed the principal strength of the enemy, offering to make peace ; and expressing their willingness to agree to any conditions he might think proper to impose. He informed them, in answer to their request, that the war had only been waged to defend the frontiers from the aggressions of the Indians, and to bring to a proper sense of duty a people to whom his government had ever shown the utmost kindness, and who, nevertheless, had committed against her citizens the most unprovoked depredations ; and that it would end only when it should become certain that this object was attained.

“Upon those,” continued he, “who are disposed to become friendly, I neither wish nor intend to make war ; but they must afford evidences of the sincerity of their professions ; the prisoners and property they have taken from us and the friendly Creeks must be restored ; the instigators of the war, and the murderers of our citizens, must be surrendered ; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mimms in bitterness and tears.”

These propositions would doubtless have been acceded to, had not the course pursued by General Cocke broken off all the negotiations. That officer was informed by General Jackson of the applications of the Hillabees, and the nature of the answer he had sent to them ; but he had previously detached General White, with orders to proceed against and destroy their towns. He commenced his march on the 11th of November ; his force consisting of a regiment of mounted infantry under Colonel Burch, a battalion of

cavalry under Major Porter, and three hundred Cherokees commanded by Colonel Morgan. On his route he passed and destroyed the towns of Little Oakfusku and Genatga, consisting, the first of thirty, the second of ninety-three houses. The town called Nitty Chop-toa was preserved, in the supposition that it might be useful at some future period. On the 17th, after marching more than one hundred miles, he arrived in the vicinity of a town containing a considerable force of Indians. Colonels Burch and Morgan were sent forward by General White, with the infantry and Cherokees, to surround the town and prevent any of the enemy from escaping. They not only executed their orders, but captured it before the arrival of the rest of the detachment, without losing a single man. Sixty of the Hillabee warriors were killed, and about two hundred and fifty of their women and children taken prisoners. The fact of such slaughter being committed among them, while the American troops sustained no loss, and had not even a man injured, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the Hillabees considered it dishonourable to fight with those with whom they were negotiating for peace. Regarding the detachment under General White as a part of Jackson's army, and believing the attack upon them to have been made by his direction, they lost confidence in him, and refused ever afterwards to make any terms of peace. From this time they would never give or receive quarter, preferring death to submission, and revenging upon those who fell into their power the treachery, as they deemed it, of the American general.

In the meantime General Jackson proceeded to Deposit and Ditto's Landing, where the most effectual means in his power were taken with the contractors for obtaining regular supplies in future. There also he learned that the whole of the detachment from Tennessee had been received by the president into the service of the United States, and he began to think that the difficulties he had hitherto encountered would not recur, and that now his operations could no more be impeded by a want of supplies. He was mistaken. The volunteers at Deposit were only restrained from breaking out into open mutiny by an animated address of the general, who, having assembled them together, painted in the most glowing colours, all the consequences that were to be apprehended, if from any defection of theirs, the campaign should be abandoned, or ineffectually prosecuted.

On his return to Fort Strother, he found the volunteers, now that they no longer had any reason to clamour for bread, were as noisy and earnest in calling for their discharge. They insisted that having volunteered to serve one year out of two, they would be entitled to their discharge on the tenth of December, that being the termination of a year from the day they had first entered the service; and that although they had been a greater part of the time disengaged and unemployed, that recess was, nevertheless, to be taken into computation. Jackson replied that the law of Congress under which their services had been accepted could contemplate nothing less than actual active service of twelve months out of twenty-four; and until

that was performed, he could not, unless specially authorized, undertake to discharge them.

Foreseeing the consequences which might result if they persisted in their refusal to serve beyond the 10th of December, the general began to provide other means for a continuance of the campaign, that, even if they all deserted him, he might still be prepared to act. Accordingly, he ordered General Roberts to return and fill up the deficiencies in his brigade, and despatched Colonel Carroll and Major Searcy into Tennessee, to raise volunteers to serve six months, or during the war. He also wrote pressing letters to many respectable and influential men, exhorting them to contribute their assistance to the accomplishment of this object. To a letter just received from the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, assuring him that volunteers from Tennessee would eagerly hasten to his relief if they knew their services were wanted, he replied,

“Reverend Sir,—Your letter has been just received : I thank you for it ; I thank you most sincerely. It arrived at a moment when my spirits needed such a support.

“I left Tennessee with an army, brave, I believe, as any general ever commanded. I have seen them in battle, and my opinion of their bravery is not changed ; but their fortitude—on this too I relied—has been too severely tested. Perhaps I was wrong in believing that nothing but death could conquer the spirits of brave men. I am sure I was ; for my men I know are brave, yet privations have rendered them discontented : that is enough. The expedition must nevertheless be prosecuted to a successful termination. New

volunteers must be raised to conclude what has been so auspiciously begun by the old ones. Gladly would I save these men from themselves, and ensure them a harvest which they have sown; but if they will abandon it to others, it must be so.

“You are good enough to say, if I need your assistance, it will be cheerfully afforded. I do need it greatly. The influence you possess over the minds of men is great and well founded, and can never be better applied than in summoning volunteers to the defence of their country, their liberty, and their religion. While we fight the savage, who makes war only because he delights in blood, and who has gotten his booty when he has scalped his victim, we are, through him, contending against an enemy of more inveterate character, and deeper design, who would demolish a fabric cemented by the blood of our fathers, and endeared to us by all the happiness we enjoy. So far as my exertions can contribute, the purposes, both of the savage and his instigator, shall be defeated; and, so far as yours can, I hope—I know, they will be employed. I have said enough—I want men, and want them immediately.”

Knowing that the discontents could only be finally dispelled from the minds of his troops by active employment, and anxious to prosecute the campaign as soon as possible, he wrote (Dec. 6th) to General Cocke, desiring him to unite with him immediately, at the Ten Islands, with fifteen hundred men. He assured him that the mounted men who had returned to the settlements for subsistence, and to recruit their horses, would arrive by the 12th of the month. He wished

to commence his operations directly, "knowing they would be prepared for it, and well knowing they would require it."

In the meantime, the volunteers, through several of their officers, continued to press on the consideration of the general, the subject of their term of service, and claimed to be discharged on the 10th instant. From Colonel Martin, who commanded the second regiment, he received a letter, dated the 4th of December, 1813, in which was attempted to be detailed their whole ground of complaint. He began by stating that much as it pained him, he felt himself bound to disclose a very unpleasant truth; that on the 10th the service would be deprived of the regiment he commanded. He seemed to deplore with great sensibility the scene that would be exhibited on that day, should opposition be made to their departure; and still more sensibly, the consequences that would result from a disorderly abandonment of the camp. He stated they had all thought themselves finally discharged on the 20th of April last, and never knew to the contrary until they saw the order of the 24th of September, requiring them to rendezvous at Fayetteville, on the 4th of October; for the first time they had learned that they owed further services, their discharge to the contrary notwithstanding. "Thus situated, there was considerable opposition to the order; on which the officers generally, as I am advised, and I know myself in particular, gave it as an unequivocal opinion, that their term of service would terminate on the 10th of December.

"They therefore look to their general, who holds

their confidence, for an honourable discharge on that day ; and that in every respect, he will see that justice be done them. They regret that their peculiar situations and circumstances require them to leave their general at a time when their services are important to the common cause. It would be desirable," he continued, "that those men who have served with honour, should be honourably discharged, and that they should return to their families and friends, without even the semblance of disgrace ; with their general they leave it to place them in that situation. They have received him as an affectionate father, whilst they have honoured, revered, and obeyed him ; but having devoted a considerable time to the service of their country, by which their domestic concerns are greatly deranged, they wish to return, and attend to their own affairs."

Although this communication announced the determination of only a part of the volunteer brigade, he had already abundant evidence that the defection was but too general. The difficulties which the general had heretofore to encounter, from the discontents of his troops, might well induce him to regret the threatened reappearance in his camp of the spirit of insubordination. That he might, if possible, prevent it, he hastened to lay before them the error and impropriety of their views, and the consequence involved, should they persist in their purpose.

"I know not," he observed, "what scenes will be exhibited on the 10th instant, nor what consequences are to flow from them here or elsewhere ; but as I shall have the consciousness that they are not impu-

table to any misconduct of mine, I trust I shall have the firmness not to shrink from a discharge of my duty.

“It will be well, however, for those who intend to become actors in those scenes, and who are about to hazard so much on the correctness of their opinions, to examine beforehand, with great caution and deliberation, the grounds on which their pretensions rest. Are they founded on any false assurances of mine, or upon any deception that has been practised towards them? Was not the act of Congress, under which they are engaged, directed by my general order, to be read and expounded to them before they enrolled themselves? That order will testify, and so will the recollection of every general officer of my division. It is not pretended that those who now claim to be discharged, were not legally and fairly enrolled, under the act of Congress, on the 6th of February, 1812. Have they performed the service required of them by that act, and which they then solemnly undertook to perform? That required one year’s service out of two, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless they should be sooner discharged. Has one year’s service been performed? This cannot be seriously pretended. Have they then been discharged? It is said they have, and by me. To account for so extraordinary a belief, it may be necessary to take a review of past circumstances.

“More than twelve months have elapsed since we were called upon to avenge the injured rights of our country. We obeyed the call! In the midst of hardships, which none but those to whom liberty is

dear could have borne without a murmur, we descended the Mississippi. It was believed our services were wanted in the prosecution of the just war in which our country was engaged, and we were prepared to render them. But, though we were disappointed in our expectations, we established for Tennessee a name which will long do her honour. At length, we received a letter from the secretary of war, directing our dismissal. You will recollect the circumstances of wretchedness in which this order was calculated to place us. By it we were deprived of every article of public property ; no provision was made for the payment of our troops, or their subsistence on their return march ; whilst many of our sick, unable to help themselves, must have perished. Against the opinion of many, I marched them back to their homes before I dismissed them. Your regiment, at its own request, was dismissed at Columbia. This was accompanied by a certificate to each man, expressing the acts under which he had been enrolled, and the length of the tour he had performed. This it is which is now attempted to be construed ‘a final discharge ;’ but surely it cannot be forgotten by any officer or soldier, how sacredly they pledged themselves, before they were dismissed, or received their certificates, cheerfully to obey the voice of their country, if it should resummon them into service ; neither can it be forgotten, I dare hope, for what purpose that certificate was given ; it was to secure, if possible, to those brave men who had shown such readiness to serve their country, certain extra emoluments, specified in the seventh section of the act under which they had engaged, in the event

they were not recalled into service for the residue of their term.

“Is it true then that my solicitude for the interest of the volunteers, is to be made by them a pretext for disgracing a name which they had rendered illustrious? Is a certificate designed solely for their benefit to become the rallying word for mutiny? strange pursuit of feeling and of reasoning! Have I really any power to discharge men whose term of service has not expired? If I were weak or wicked enough to attempt the exercise of such a power, does any one believe the soldier would be thereby exonerated from the obligation he has voluntarily taken upon himself to his government? I should become a traitor to the important concern which has been entrusted to my management; while the soldier, who had been deceived by a false hope of liberation, would be still liable to redeem his pledge; I should disgrace myself without benefitting you.

“I can only deplore the situation of those officers who have undertaken to persuade their men that their term of service will expire on the 10th. In giving their opinions to this effect, they have acted indiscreetly, and without sufficient authority. It would be the most pleasing fact of my life to restore them with honour to their families. Nothing would pain me more, than that any other sentiments should be felt towards them, than those of gratitude and esteem. On all occasions it has been my highest happiness to promote their interest, and even to gratify their wishes, where with propriety it could be done. When in the lower country, believing that, in the order for

their dismissal, they had been improperly treated, I even solicited the government to discharge them finally from the obligations into which they had entered. You know the answer of the secretary of war;—that neither he, nor the president, as he believed, had the power to discharge them. How then can it be required of me to do so ?

“The moment it is signified to me by any competent authority, even by the Governor of Tennessee, to whom I have written on the subject, or by General Pinckney, who is now appointed to the command, that the volunteers may be exonerated from further service, that moment I will pronounce it with the greatest satisfaction. I have only the power of pronouncing a discharge—not of giving it in any case, a distinction which I would wish should be borne in mind. Already have I sent to raise volunteers on my own responsibility, to complete a campaign which has been so happily begun, and thus far, so fortunately prosecuted. The moment they arrive, and I am assured that, fired by our exploits, they will hasten in crowds on the first intimation that we need their services, they will be substituted in the place of those who are discontented here; the latter will then be permitted to return to their homes with all the honour which, under such circumstances they can carry along with them. But I still cherish a hope that their dissatisfaction and complaints have been greatly exaggerated. I cannot, must not believe that the ‘Volunteers of Tennessee,’ a name ever dear to fame, will disgrace themselves and a country which they have honoured, by abandoning her standard as mutineers and

deserters ; but should I be disappointed and compelled to resign this pleasing hope, one thing I will not resign—my duty. Mutiny and sedition, so long as I possess the power of quelling them, shall be put down ; and even when left destitute of this, I will still be found in the last extremity, endeavouring to discharge the duty I owe my country and myself.”

He also addressed the platoon officers in the same style ; but discontent was too deeply rooted, and by designing men had been too artfully fomented to be removed by argument or entreaty. At length, on the evening of the 9th of December, 1813, General Hall hastened to the tent of General Jackson, with the information that his whole brigade was in a state of mutiny, and making preparations to depart forcibly.

This was a measure which every consideration of policy, duty, and honour, required Jackson to oppose ; and to this purpose he instantly applied all the means he possessed. He immediately issued the following general order :

“The commanding general being informed that an actual mutiny exists in his camp, all officers and soldiers are commanded to put it down. The officers and soldiers of the first brigade will, without delay, parade on the west side of the fort, and await further orders.” The artillery company, with two small field-pieces, being posted in the front and rear, and the militia, under the command of Colonel Wynne, on the eminences, in advance, were ordered to prevent any forcible departure of the volunteers.

The general then rode along the line, and addressed them by companies, in a strain of impassioned elo-

quence. He feelingly expatiated on their former good conduct, and the esteem and applause it had secured them; and pointed to the disgrace which they must heap upon themselves, their families, and country, by persisting, even if they could succeed, in their present mutiny. He told them, however, that they should not succeed, but by passing over his body; that, even in opposing their mutinous spirit, he should perish honourably—by perishing at his post, and in the discharge of his duty. “Reinforcements,” he continued, “are preparing to hasten to my assistance; it cannot be long before they will arrive. I am, too, in daily expectation of receiving information whether you may be discharged or not—until then, you must not, and shall not retire. I have done with entreaty—it has been used long enough. I will attempt it no more. You must now determine whether you will go, or peaceably remain; if you still persist in your determination to move peaceably off, the point between us shall soon be decided.” At first they hesitated: he demanded an explicit and positive answer. They still hesitated, and he commanded the artillerist to prepare his match; he, himself, remaining in front of the volunteers, and within the line of fire, which he intended soon to order. Alarmed at his apparent determination, and dreading the consequences involved in such a contest, “Let us return,” was murmured along the line, and soon after this step was determined upon. The officers now came forward and pledged themselves for their men, who either nodded assent, or openly expressed a willingness to retire to their quarters, and remain without further tumult, until information was



Scalping.

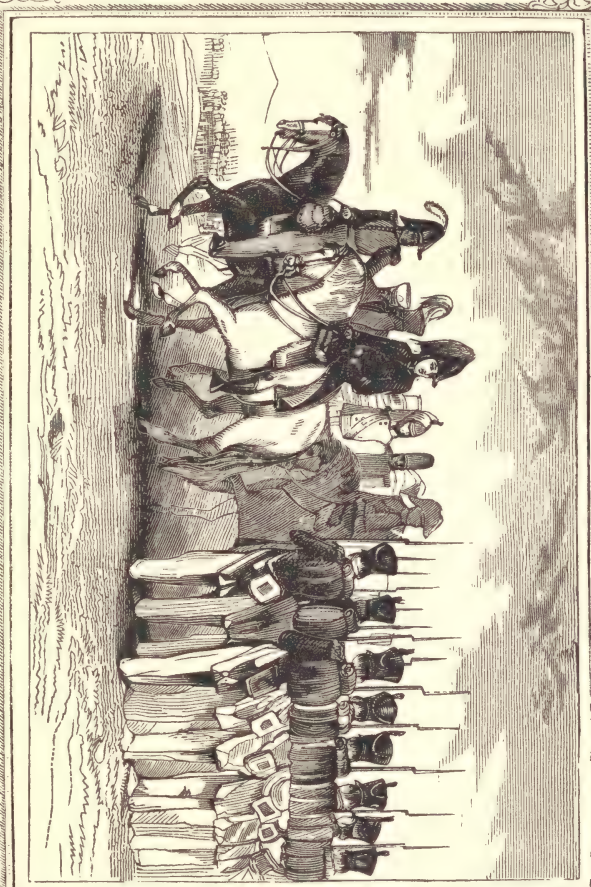
received or the expected aid should arrive. Thus passed away a moment of the greatest peril, pregnant with important consequences.

This ever memorable scene took place on the 10th of December, 1813. *One year* from the first rendezvous of the volunteers had certainly expired; but there had not been a year's *service*; for they had not been in service from the 1st of May to the 4th of October, 1813; so that there remained five months of the year's service to come. The general was right in his construction of the agreement; but, besides this, to have forsaken the campaign in such a manner, would have been ruinous in the extreme; the savage enemy not yet subdued, but exasperated to the last degree, would have assailed the unprotected frontiers, and

have deluged them with the blood of the defenceless citizens ; burning, murdering, and scalping, would have been daily events on the border.

Though the volunteers were thus prevented from putting their design into immediate execution, the general soon discovered that it was not wholly abandoned, and that nothing could be expected from their future services. He accordingly determined to rid himself, as soon as possible, of men whose presence served only to keep the spirit of discontent alive in the camp. An order was given to General Hall to march them to Nashville, and do with them as he should be directed by the Governor of Tennessee. Previous, however, to promulgating this order, he resolved to make another effort to retain them—to make a last appeal to their honour and patriotism. For this purpose, having assembled them before the fort on the 13th of December, the day after the arrival of General Cocke, he directed his aid-de-camp to read to them the following address :—

“ Volunteers of Tennessee ! On the 10th of December, 1812, you assembled at the call of your country. Your professions of patriotism and ability to endure fatigue, were at once tested by the inclemency of the weather. Breaking your way through sheets of ice, you descended the Mississippi, and reached the point at which you were ordered to be halted and dismissed. All this you bore without murmuring. Finding that your services were not needed, the means for marching you back were procured ; every difficulty was surmounted, and as soon as the point from which you embarked was regained, the order for your dismis-



sal was carried into effect. The promptness with which you assembled, the regularity of your conduct, your attention to your duties, the determination manifested on every occasion to carry into effect the wishes and will of your government, placed you on an elevated ground. You not only distinguished yourselves, but gave to your state a distinguished rank with her sisters; and led your government to believe that the honour of the nation would never be tarnished when entrusted to the holy keeping of the ‘Volunteers of Tennessee.’ In the progress of a war, which the implacable and eternal enemy of our independence induced to be waged, we found that, without cause on our part, a portion of the Creek nation was added to the number of our foes. To put them down, the first glance of the administration fell on you, and you were again summoned to the field of honour. In full possession of your former feelings, that summons was cheerfully obeyed. Before your enemy thought you in motion, you were at Tallushatchee and Talladega. The thunder of your arms was a signal to them, that the slaughter of your countrymen was about to be avenged. You fought, you conquered! barely enough of the foe escaped to recount to their savage associates your deeds of valour. You returned to this place, loaded with laurels and the applauses of your country.

“Can it be that these brave men are about to become the tarnishers of their own reputation!—the destroyers of a name which does them so much honour. Yes, it is a truth too well disclosed, that cheerfulness has been changed for complaints:—murmurings and discontents alone prevail. Men who a little while

since were offering up prayers for permission to chastise the merciless savage, who turned with impatience to teach them how much they had hitherto been indebted to our forbearance, are now, when they could so easily attain their wishes, seeking to be discharged. The heart of your general has been pierced. The first object of his military affections, and the first glory of his life were the volunteers of Tennessee; the very name recalls to him a thousand endearing recollections. But these men, these volunteers, have become mutineers. The feelings he would have indulged, your general has been compelled to suppress—he has been compelled by a regard to that subordination so necessary to the support of every army, and which he is bound to have observed, to check the disorder which would have destroyed you. He has interposed his authority for your safety,—to prevent you from disgracing yourselves and your country. Tranquillity has been restored in our camp—contentment shall also be restored—this can be done only by permitting those to retire whose dissatisfaction proceeds from causes that cannot be controlled. This permission will never be given. Your country will dispense with your services, if you have no longer a regard for that fame, which you have so nobly earned for yourselves and her. Yes, soldiers you who were once so brave, and to whom honour was so dear, shall be permitted to return to your homes, if you desire it. But in what language, when you arrive, will you address your families and friends? Will you tell them that you abandoned your general, and your late associates in arms, within fifty miles of a savage enemy, who equally

delights in shedding the blood of the innocent female and her sleeping babe, as that of the warrior contending in battle? Lamentable, disgraceful tale! If your dispositions are really changed, if you fear an enemy you so lately conquered, this day will prove it. I now put it to yourselves;—determine upon the part you will act, influenced only by the suggestion of your own hearts, and your own understandings. All who prefer an inglorious retirement shall be ordered to Nashville, to be discharged as the president or the governor may direct. Who choose to remain and unite with their general in the further prosecution of the campaign, can do so, and will thereby furnish a proof that they have been greatly traduced; and that although disaffection and cowardice has reached the hearts of some, it has not reached theirs. To such my assurance is given, that former irregularities will not be attributed to them. They shall be immediately organized into a separate corps, under officers of their own choice; and in a little while it is confidently believed an opportunity will be afforded of adding to the laurels you have already won.”

This address failed to produce the desired effect. One only, Captain Williamson, agreed to remain. General Hall was accordingly instructed to march his brigade to Nashville, and await such instructions as he might receive from the president, or the Governor of Tennessee.

General Cocke had arrived on the 12th with fifteen hundred men; but it was found from his report that no part of his troops were brought into the field under the requisition of the President of the United States:

and that the term of service of the greater part of them would expire in a few days; and of the whole in a few weeks. In consequence of this he was ordered into his district, to comply with that requisition, and to carry with him and discharge near their homes, those of his troops, whose term of service was nearly ended. The reason of this was explained to the brigade in an address, in which they were entreated, when they should have obtained the necessaries which a winter's campaign would require, to return into the field, and aid in completing what had been so successfully begun.

Colonel Lilliard's regiment, consisting of about eight hundred men, whose term of service would not expire in less than four weeks, was retained to assist in defending Fort Strother, and keeping open the communication with Deposit until the expected reinforcements should arrive.

The brigade of mounted men under General Coffee, who had been allowed to return soon after the battle of Talladega, reassembled at Huntsville on the 8th of December. Only eight hundred presented themselves, of whom but six hundred could be prevailed upon to move towards the Indian country. The evil influence of the example set by the infantry was soon evident among the cavalry. They insisted upon their right to a discharge, having enlisted at the same time as the infantry. The riflemen, also, alleged that their stipulated term of service had expired, and manifested a decided indisposition to proceed. General Coffee was prevented by sickness from commanding his brigade in person; but he ordered them to march im-

mediately to head-quarters. They proceeded as far as Ditto's Landing ; but the greater number refused to cross the river, and commenced a disorderly return. Those who continued to perform their duty, were halted at Deposit, to await the orders of General Jackson. Their conduct at that place was disorderly and mutinous ; and General Coffee, despairing of effecting anything with such troops, informed General Jackson of their conduct and demands. He also forwarded to the general a petition which had been addressed to him by the rifle regiment. The commander-in-chief addressed a severe letter to the malcontents, receiving and answering their petition, and reminding them of their promise to return to the service.

"The signers of that address," observes the general, "commence by saying, 'that jealousy is prevailing in our camp, with respect to the understanding between themselves and the government relative to the service required of them ; and believing it to be its policy to act fairly, are of opinion that a full explanation of their case will have a good effect in promoting the cause in which they are engaged.'

"What can have given rise to this jealousy I am at a loss to conjecture ; for surely no unfair practices were ever used by their government to get them into the service, nor to keep them in it longer than they had engaged to remain. How long that was can be easily determined by the law under which they were accepted. This was open to all, and must be presumed to have been understood by all. But for a complete answer, I send you, and refer you to the written pledges of both the field and platoon-officers,

before they returned to recruit their horses, and obtain their winter clothing. As they seem completely to have forgotten, I will remind them of all they contain—of their assurances given, that, if what they asked were granted, they would return at the shortest possible notice, prepared and willing to go through the winter service, or to the end of the campaign. Sensible of their necessities, and confiding fully in the promises they made, and signed with their own names, I permitted them, on the 22d ultimo, to return into the settlements for the purpose of procuring fresh horses, and additional clothing ; and required them, to which they readily agreed, to rendezvous in Madison on the 8th instant. They have returned ; and now, when every calculation is made upon their services, agreeably to the pledges that have been given, they send (instead of coming,) this address. Under these circumstances what ‘explanation of their case’ do they want? What explanation do they expect their general to give them? Barely to remind them of their written pledges, without attempting any exposition of the law under which they have engaged, is surely a sufficient answer. An exposition of it will not be attempted by me ; not only because it is considered unnecessary, but because my opinion on it has been already frequently given.

“They, however, further remark, that ‘they are returning like deserters, souring the minds of the people against the government and the officers, which will prevent others from entering into the service of their country, and paralyze the spirit of every citizen of ‘Tennessee.’ That they are returning home, not only ‘like deserters,’ but in the real characters of such,

is indeed a lamentable truth. That they are also endeavouring to sour the minds of the people against the government and the officers, and that this attempt will most probably be successful, and prevent many from entering the service, is, I am fearful, too true. But in the name of God, to whom is this to be ascribed—to the government or to their general? or rather is it not more justly chargeable to themselves, who, having entered the camp from patriotic motives, as they say,—having engaged with their government, and pledged themselves to their general, to prosecute the campaign and avenge the injured rights of their country, forget both that engagement, and that pledge, and all their boasted patriotism, at a moment when their services are the most confidently expected, and the most eminently needed.

“I cannot conceive how the idea has arisen, that they are attempted to be detained without their consent. To say nothing of the length of service really required by the law under which they were accepted; have not the field officers given their written consent to remain during the winter, or until the campaign be completed? Have they not also given a pledge for their men, and their officers commanding companies and platoons; and have not those company and platoon officers too, given a similar assurance for themselves and their men? Let them look to these pledges and blush at their conduct.

“They also remark, ‘If any tender of services for a longer time than a tour of duty (three months), has been made to the general government, we beg leave to say, it was without our consent or knowledge; and

we are convinced that in all contracts that are binding, both parties must fully understand and consent thereto. We wish to be permitted to return home, and to return under such circumstances as will entitle us to be praised instead of blamed, by those who so gallantly led us to battle.'

"To this I give answer, that no tender for any specified term of service was ever made to the general government by me, or by any other within my knowledge. As regards their *law remark*, that men, to be bound by a contract, must understand and consent to it, it will be a sufficient answer that those who volunteer their services under a public law, are presumed to understand fully all its provisions; or, at any rate, that those who sign an instrument drawn up by themselves, cannot reasonably be supposed ignorant of its contents, or unwilling to abide by its terms. But they must be lukewarm patriots indeed, who in the moment of danger and necessity can halt in the discharge of their duty, to argue and quibble on the construction of laws and statutes.

"As to their wish 'to be praised instead of censured,' I am at a loss to conceive how such a sentiment should hold a place in the breasts of men who are about to abandon the cause of their country, at such a moment as this, and under such engagements. Even if it be possible for such men to desire praise, from their present conduct they cannot expect it. Before they can have determined to enter upon such a course, they must undoubtedly have prepared their minds to meet all the contumely and contempt that an indignant country can heap upon such wind-blown

patriots ; who, when at home, clamoured so vociferously about her injured rights, and having taken up arms to defend them, abandon them at a moment when they are most in danger. A grosser aliment than praise must be the proper nutriment for such minds. If it were possible that any doubt could exist under the law by which their services were engaged, has not the utmost certainty been produced, by their own written undertakings subsequently made ? But on the question, whether their country, at this time, needs their services in the field, there can be no doubt. And is patriotism to be measured by months, and weeks, and days ? Is it by such a computation that the volunteer embarked in his country's defence hopes to entitle himself to the thanks of that country, when her rights are assailed, and his efforts can protect them ? Be it so ; let it be even granted that these men's engagements have expired under the law ;—has their sacred pledge in writing, and has their love of country expired ? If these cannot bind them to a faithful performance of their duty, I know of nothing by which I can hope to hold them."

He also forwarded to them a letter which he had just received from the Governor of Tennessee. This letter recommended what had already been done ; to dismiss—not discharge, the volunteers, because the latter was not in the power of either of them :—nor was their dismissal to be given because founded in right ; but because under existing circumstances their presence would not prove beneficial, but highly injurious. This letter was sent to the volunteers of Coffee's brigade, accompanied with these remarks :—



Allcorn abandoning the Campaign.

“I have just received a letter from Governor Blount which I hasten to transmit to you, that you may avail yourselves of whatever benefits and privileges it holds out. You will perceive that he does not consider he has any power to discharge you,—neither have I:—but you have my permission to retire from the service if you are still desirous of doing so, and are prepared to risk the consequences.”

No sooner were these letters read to the soldiers than they abandoned the campaign, and with their colonel, Allcorn, at their head, notwithstanding their pledged honour, the advice of their general, the entreaties of General Coffee, and an eloquent speech of

the Reverend Mr. Blackburn, commenced their march to the settlements.

The brigade of militia under General Roberts, who had remained at Fort Strother, insisting that they had only enlisted for three months, desired to be discharged on the 4th of January. Jackson, however, demurred at this construction of the case: as they had been mustered into the United States service under the act for raising a militia force to serve for six months, unless sooner discharged by the president. He therefore refused to permit them to depart. The regiment of Colonel Lilliard, belonging to General Cocke's division, would be entitled to a discharge on the 14th; when the force at Fort Strother would be almost dissolved. General Cocke had been previously ordered by the governor to raise twenty-five hundred men to reinforce the army: but that order not having been fulfilled, General Jackson urged the governor to take more efficient measures for increasing the strength of the army. Governor Blount, discouraged by the disaffection of the men, and the ill-success of General Cocke, recommended that the campaign should be abandoned until the general government should give substantial aid. Jackson replied by deprecating such a course as calculated to injure the reputation and endanger the safety of Tennessee, and to defeat the plans of General Pinckney, to whom the United States government had committed the management of the Creek war; he continues:—

“Had your wish that I should discharge a part of my force and retire with the residue into the settlements assumed the form of a positive order, it might have

furnished me some apology for pursuing such a course ; but by no means a full justification. As you would have no power to give such an order, I could not be inculpable in obeying, with my eyes open to the fatal consequences that would attend it. But a bare recommendation, founded, as I am satisfied it must be, on the artful suggestions of those fireside patriots who seek, in a failure of the expeditions, an excuse for their own supineness ; and upon the misrepresentations of the discontented from the army, who wish it to be believed that the difficulties which overcame their patriotism are wholly insurmountable, would afford me but a feeble shield against the reproaches of my country, or my conscience. Believe me, my respected friend, the remarks I make proceed from the purest personal regard. If you would preserve your reputation, or that of the state over which you preside, you must take a straight-forward, determined course ; regardless of the applause or censure of the populace, and of the forebodings of that dastardly and designing crew, who, at a time like this, may be expected to clamour continually in your ears. The very wretches who now beset you with evil counsel, will be the first, should the measures which they recommend eventuate in disaster, to call down imprecations on your head, and load you with reproaches. Your country is in danger :—apply its resources to its defence ! Can any course be more plain ? Do you, my friend, at such a moment as the present, sit with your arms folded, and your heart at ease, waiting a solution of your doubts, and a definition of your powers ? Do you wait for special instructions from the secretary of war, which it is im-

possible for you to receive in time for the danger that threatens? How did the venerable Shelby act under similar circumstances; or rather, under circumstances by no means so critical? Did he wait for orders to do what every man of sense knew—what every patriot felt—to be right? He did not; and yet how highly and justly did the government extol his manly and energetic conduct! and how dear has his name become to all the friends of their country!

“You say that, having given an order to General Cocke to bring his quota of men into the field, your power ceases; and that, although you are made sensible that he has wholly neglected that order, you can take no measure to remedy the omission. Widely different, indeed, is my opinion. I consider it your imperious duty, when the men called for by your order, founded upon that of the government, are known not to be in the field, to see that they be brought there; and to take immediate measures with the officer, who, charged with the execution of your order, omits or neglects to do it. As the executive of the state, it is your duty to see that the full quota of troops be constantly kept in the field for the time they have been required. You are responsible to the government; your officer to you. Of what avail is it to give an order if it be never executed, and may be disobeyed with impunity? Is it by empty orders that we can hope to conquer our enemies, and save our defenceless frontiers from butchery and devastation? Believe me, my valued friend, there are times when it is highly criminal to shrink from responsibility, or scruple about the exercise of our powers. There

are times when we must disregard punctilious etiquette, and think only of serving our country. What is really our present situation? The enemy we have been sent to subdue, may be said, if we stop at this, to be only exasperated. The commander-in-chief, General Pinckney, who supposes me by this time prepared for renewed operations, has ordered me to advance, and form a junction with the Georgia army; and, upon the expectation that I will do so, are all his arrangements formed for the prosecution of the campaign. Will it do to defeat his plans, and jeopardize the safety of the Georgia army? The general government, too, believe, and have a right to believe, that we have now not less than five thousand men in the heart of the enemy's country; and on this opinion are all their calculations bottomed; and must they all be frustrated, and I become the instrument by which it is done? God forbid!

“You advise me too, to discharge or dismiss from service, until the will of the president can be known, such a portion of the militia as have rendered three months' service. This advice astonishes me even more than the former. I have no such discretionary power; and it would be impolitic and ruinous to use it, if I had. I believed the militia who were not specially received for a shorter period, were engaged for six months, unless the objects of the expedition should be sooner attained; and in this opinion I was greatly strengthened by your letter of the 15th, in which you say, when answering my inquiry upon this subject, ‘the militia are detached for six months' service;’ nor did I know or suppose you had a different opin-

ion until the arrival of your last letter. This opinion must, I suppose, agreeably to your request, be made known to General Roberts's brigade, and then the consequences are not difficult to be foreseen. Every man belonging to it will abandon me on the 4th of next month; nor shall I have the means of preventing it but by the application of force, which under such circumstances I shall not be at liberty to use. I have laboured hard to reconcile these men to a continuance in service until they could be honourably discharged, and had hoped I had in a great measure succeeded; but your opinion, operating with their own prejudices, will give a sanction to their conduct, and render useless any further attempts. They will go, but I can neither discharge nor dismiss them. Shall I be told, that, as they will go, it may as well be peaceably permitted? Can that be any good reason why I should do an unauthorized act? Is it a good reason why I should violate the order of my superior officer, and evince a willingness to defeat the purposes of my government? And wherein does the 'sound policy' of the measures that have been recommended consist? or in what way are they 'likely to promote the public good?' Is it sound policy to abandon a conquest thus far made, and deliver up to havoc, or add to the number of our enemies those friendly Creeks and Cherokees, who, relying on our protection, have espoused our cause, and aided us with their arms? Is it good policy to turn loose upon our defenceless frontiers five thousand exasperated savages, to imbrue their hands once more in the blood of our citizens? What! retrograde under such circumstances! I will perish first. No,

I will do my duty. I will hold the posts I have established until ordered to abandon them by the commanding general, or die in the struggle;—long since have I determined not to seek the preservation of life at the sacrifice of reputation.

“But our frontiers, it seems, are to be defended—and by whom? By the very force that is now recommended to be dismissed; for I am first told to retire into the settlements, and to protect the frontiers; next, to discharge my troops; and then, that no measures can be taken for raising others. No, my friend, if troops be given me, it is not by loitering on the frontiers that I will seek to give protection; they are to be defended, if defended at all, in a very different manner;—by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. All other hopes of defence are more visionary than dreams. What then is to be done? I'll tell you what. You have only to act with the energy and decision the crisis demands, and all will be well. Send me a force engaged for six months, and I will answer for the result,—but withhold it, and all is lost,—the reputation of the state, and yours and mine along with it.”

This remonstrance of Jackson changed the intentions of Governor Blount, who directed two thousand five hundred militia from the second brigade, under General Johnston, to join the army without delay. General Cocke was also instructed to hasten the execution of his orders, and to march his men to headquarters as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, many of the militia of General Roberts had deserted, and returned to Tennessee. This officer

was, therefore, ordered to repair to that state, and endeavour to obtain a sufficient number of new levies to supply their places. He was also instructed to use every exertion to complete the number of his brigade. He succeeded in raising nearly two hundred men, with whom he arrived near the camp on the 27th of December. He went alone to General Jackson, to ascertain whether they would be permitted to return home after three months' service; that being the time for which they had engaged. Jackson informed him that his stipulations would be strictly complied with; but when Roberts returned to his men, he found that they had been seized with distrust, in consequence of his conduct, and had resolved to set out for home. He went to the camp, when General Jackson ordered him to parade his reinforcement. He then acknowledged what had happened, and offered to follow them, and bring them back. He overtook them twenty miles from Fort Strother; but they persisted in their resolution to return. General Jackson ordered him to cause them to be arrested, and brought to the camp, or put into confinement. Many of them returned, and disclosed the fact, that their conduct was owing to the advice of Roberts, who was cashiered by order of a court-martial.

Apprehensive that the brigade of militia would attempt to leave the camp on the 4th of January, the general issued an order forbidding all persons to pass the sentries without written permission, under the penalties of desertion. Notwithstanding this order, on the morning of the 4th, the sentinels were discovered to be absent from their posts. Jackson ordered



Arrest of Lieutenant Kearley.

Lieutenant Kearley, who commanded the guard, to be arrested ; but he refused to submit to the order. The guards, and Captain Gordon's company of spies, were ordered to arrest him at all hazards. His men manifested a disposition to defend him, when General Jackson ordered Kearley to deliver his sword to him. He refused ; on which the general levelled a pistol at him, and would have killed him upon the spot, when the friends of the lieutenant persuaded him to yield. Meanwhile, the militia, with the exception of part of one company, left the fort, and proceeded homeward.

Lieutenant Kearley, having expressed himself sincerely penitent, was pardoned by his general, and restored to his rank.

The force at Fort Strother was now reduced to the regiment of Colonel Lilliard, whose term of service expired on the 14th of January; two companies of spies under Captain Gordon and Russell; and the artillery company. The reinforcements which were preparing in Tennessee had not yet reached him; and there being little prospect of their arrival for some weeks, the general determined to make an attempt to persuade the regiment of Lilliard to remain twenty days longer, with the view of striking a blow at the enemy, who were assembling in considerable force below.

He therefore caused the following address to be read to that regiment.

“Major-General Cocke having reported that your term of service will expire on the 14th, I assume no claim on you beyond that period. But, although I cannot demand as a right the continuance of your services, I do not despair of being able to obtain them through your patriotism. For what purpose was it that you quitted your homes, and penetrated the heart of the enemy's country? Was it to avenge the blood of your fellow-citizens, inhumanly slain by that enemy—to give security in future to our extended and unprotected frontier, and to signalize the valour by which you were animated? Will any of these objects be attained if you abandon the campaign at the time you contemplate? Not one! Yet an opportunity shall be afforded you, if you desire it. If you have been

really actuated by the feelings, and governed by the motives, which your commanding general supposes influenced you to take up arms and enter the field in defence of your rights, none of you will resist the appeal he now makes, or hesitate to embrace with eagerness the opportunity he is about to afford you.

“The enemy, more than half conquered, but deriving encouragement and hope from the tardiness of our operations, and the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in our camp, are again assembling below us. Another lesson of admonition must be furnished them. They must again be made to feel the weight of that power which they have without cause provoked to war; and to know that although we have been slow to take up arms, we will never again lay them from our hands, until we have secured the objects that impelled us to the resort. In less than eight days I shall leave this encampment, to meet and fight them. Will any of you accompany me? Are there any amongst you who at a moment like this will not think it an outrage upon honour for her feelings to be tested by a computation of time? What if the period for which you tendered your services to your country has expired,—is that a consideration with the valiant, the patriotic, and the brave, who have appeared to redress the injured rights of that country, and to acquire for themselves a name of glory? Is it a consideration with them, when those objects are still unattained, and an opportunity of acquiring them is so near at hand? Did such men enter the field like hirelings—to serve for pay alone? Does all regard for their country, their families, and them-

selves, expire with the time for which their services were engaged? Will it be a sufficient gratification to their feelings, that they served out three months without seeing the enemy, and then abandoned the campaign when the enemy was in the neighbourhood, and could be seen and conquered in ten days? Any retrospect they can make of the sacrifices they have encountered, and the privations they have endured, can afford but little satisfaction under such circumstances;—the very mention of the Creek war must cover them with the blushes of shame and self-abasement. Having engaged for only three months, and that period having expired, are you bound by nothing else? Surely, as honourable and high-minded men, you must at such a moment as the present feel other obligations than the law imposes. A fear of the punishment of the law did not bring you into camp;—that its demands are satisfied will not take you from it. You had higher objects in view—some greater good to attain. This your general believes: nor can he believe otherwise, without doing you great injustice.

“Your services are not asked for longer than twenty days; and who will hesitate making such a sacrifice, when the good of his country, and his own fame, are at stake? Who, under the present aspect of affairs, will even reckon it a sacrifice? When we set out to meet the enemy, this post must be retained and defended: if any of you will remain and render this service, it will be no less important than if you had marched to the battle; nor will your general less thankfully acknowledge it. Tuesday next, the line of

march will be taken up: and in a few days thereafter the objects of the excursion will be effected. As patriotic men, then, I ask you for your services; and thus long I have no doubt you will cheerfully render them. I am well aware that you are all anxious to return to your families and homes, and that you are entitled to do so; yet stay a little longer—go with me and meet the enemy, and you can then return not only with the consciousness of having performed your duty, but with the glorious exultation of having done even more than duty required.”

In answer to this address, Colonel Lilliard replied, that having been called upon by the several captains in his return to make a statement of those in their respective companies who were willing to remain beyond the period of their engagement, it appeared that none would consent to do so except Captain Hamilton and three of his men. General Jackson therefore ordered Colonel Lilliard to march on the 10th to Fort Armstrong, and thence to Knoxville, when the troops would be discharged by General Cocke.

While General Jackson was thus embarrassed and prevented from accomplishing any important service, by the desertion of his troops, the enemy had suffered severe losses from the gallantry of the militia of Georgia. Governor Early of that state, on the 8th of November, called the attention of the legislature to the necessity of making provision for defence against the Creeks. Pursuant to his recommendation, a considerable force of militia was called out, and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Floyd. On the 29th of the same month, General Floyd marched



Burning of Indian villages.

against the Indian town of Autoussee, situated on the Tallapoosa river, eighteen miles from the Hickory Ground. At this place were assembled the warriors of eight towns, composing a very formidable force. The army of General Floyd consisted of nine hundred and fifty militia, and about three hundred friendly Indians. The attack was made early on the morning of the 29th, and was succeeded by a fierce contest of three hours' duration. The enemy were entirely defeated, and forced to abandon their town, leaving two hundred warriors dead upon the field. Four hundred houses were burnt to the ground, and the whole was accomplished with a loss of only eleven men. On the

first of January, 1814, General Jackson received information of another brilliant victory, gained by General Claiborne. On the 23d of December, that officer attacked Eccanachaca, or the Holy Ground, an Indian military depot, situated on the Alabama river. The prophets, Weatherford, Francis, and Siquister, resided at this town. The enemy were driven from their post, losing about forty warriors, and the town was reduced to ashes. Another village, eight miles distant, was destroyed on the following day.

These victories struck terror into the ranks of the enemy, and by inspiring the militia with confidence in themselves, materially contributed to the subsequent victories.





CHAPTER IX.

EMUCKFAW.



COLONEL CARROLL, who had been deputed by General Cocke to raise the reinforcements, having been unable, by using every exertion, to obtain volunteers for six months, was obliged to complete his number with mounted men, engaged to serve for sixty days. General Jackson was unwilling to set the dangerous precedent of engaging troops for so short a

period; but the urgency of the case admitted of no delay, and he was obliged to acquiesce in the arrangement. General Pinckney had requested him to act in concert with the forces from Georgia; and it was to this end that he manifested so much anxiety to retain Lilliard's regiment. The departure of that corps defeated his plans; but he still hoped to accomplish something with his new troops, in aid of General Claiborne, who was encamped on the Alabama river, eighty-five miles above Fort Stoddart. The newly raised volunteers assembled at Huntsville, where they remained, waiting until supplies should be received at head-quarters sufficient for their support. Could they have proceeded directly on, they would have reached the general early enough to enable him to proceed against the enemy, before the period at which Lilliard's regiment would have been entitled to a discharge. General Jackson strained every nerve in order to accomplish this end, urging Colonel Carroll to make active exertions to send forward all the provisions in the hands of the contractors, and to hasten the arrangements for procuring larger supplies. So important did he consider this junction, that he was willing to subject himself to considerable hazard, rather than not effect it. To Colonel Carroll he wrote, on learning that he was on his way with his newly raised troops:

“I am happy to hear of your success in procuring volunteers. I shall receive with open arms those who, in this hour of need, so gallantly come forth to uphold the sinking reputation of their state. I am more anxious than ever to recommence operations, and indeed they have become more necessary than

ever ; yet I cannot move without supplies. As this will meet you near where the contractors are, you will be better able to ascertain than I can inform you, when that happy moment will arrive ; and, I pray you, use your best exertions to have it brought about with the least possible delay. Until supplies, and the means of transportation can be furnished to justify another movement from this place, it will be better that you remain where your horses can be fed. I say this, upon the supposition that this will be shortly done ; but were it certain that the same causes of delay which have so long retarded our operations were still to continue, I would, at every risk, and under every responsibility, take up the march, as soon as the troops now with you could arrive. For such a measure I should seek my justification in the imperiousness of the circumstances by which I am surrounded ; and rely for success upon heaven, and the enterprise of my followers.

“Partial supplies have arrived for my use at Fort Armstrong, which will be ordered on to-morrow. This, with the scanty stock on hand, will at least keep us from starving a few weeks, until we can quarter upon the enemy, or gain assistance from the country below. General Claiborne, who is encamped eighty-five miles above Fort Stoddart, writes me, that arrangements are made to send supplies up the Alabama to the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. Upon such resources will I depend, sooner than wait until my army wastes away, or becomes through inaction unfit for service.”

All his exertions, however, were insufficient to accomplish the desired end ; and he was obliged to dis-

miss Lilliard's regiment, and await the arrival of supplies. On the 2d of January, 1814, Colonel Carroll arrived at head-quarters, and reported his proceedings to the general. The number of the new volunteers being only eight hundred and fifty, Colonel Carroll was directed to have them formed into two regiments, under officers of their own choice ; and an order was put into his hands for General Coffee, who was then at Huntsville, requiring him to march them to Fort Strother on the 10th instant. That officer, learning that those troops were unwilling that he should have the command of them, expressed a wish to General Jackson that it might not be assigned him ; in consequence of which, and their own request, the commander-in-chief had determined that after the arrival in camp there should be no intermediate commander over them between their colonels and himself. The volunteers were made acquainted with this arrangement.

When General Coffee received the instructions which General Jackson had sent him, he immediately ordered Colonels Perkins and Higgins, who had been chosen to the command of the two regiments, to march them directly for head-quarters. They, however, refused to obey the orders of General Coffee, to march on the 10th of January ; and did not arrive in camp until the 13th. They alleged, in their own justification, that Coffee was not their rightful commander, and they were not bound to obey his orders. He consequently charged them with disobedience, and demanded their arrest. This must have been granted had they not yielded to the advice of more prudent friends, and apologized for their unsoldierlike and insulting conduct.

Having received this reinforcement, General Jackson resolved to march immediately against the Indians. He had received advices on the 5th from Captain M'Alpin, commanding temporarily at Fort Armstrong, that his post was menaced with an attack by the warriors of fourteen or fifteen Creek towns. He had also been informed by General Pinckney that General Floyd was about to march to the Tallapoosa, and recommended to make a movement against such of the hostile towns as were near his camp. Accordingly, on the 15th, the mounted men were advanced three miles from Fort Strother ; and, on the next day, being joined by the remainder of the army, they marched for Talladega, where they arrived on the 18th. Here they were reinforced by about two hundred Cherokees and friendly Creeks.

The whole force of General Jackson now consisted of eleven hundred and thirty men, including officers. At Talladega he received another letter from the commandant at Fort Armstrong, assuring him that there was no doubt that that post would shortly be attacked by a force of nine hundred men, who were assembled near the mouth of Emuckfaw creek, in a bend of the Tallapoosa river. He also received information from General Pinckney that General Floyd would march the next day from Cowetaw, and establish a post at Tuckabatchee in ten days. He immediately set out, and arrived at Enotichopco, a small Hillabee village, on the 20th. This village was twelve miles from Emuckfaw. The spies being unacquainted with the country, General Jackson was compelled to move with

great caution ; which the want of discipline and subordination among his troops rendered very difficult.

On the next morning he marched from Enotichopco, and took the most direct route to the enemy's camp. Two Indians were seen about two o'clock, but succeeded in making their escape. In the evening several large trails were discovered, all tending to one point. Convinced that he was close to the encampment of the enemy, Jackson encamped his little army in a hollow square, on an eligible site, upon the eminences of Emuckfaw, sent out his spies, posted his pickets, doubled his sentinels, and made every arrangement to guard against a night attack. Three Indians were seen and fired on about ten o'clock, and one of them killed. About midnight the spies came in and reported that they had discovered a large encampment of Indians about three miles distant, and that they were apprised of the approach of the army.

On the morning of the 22d, before daylight, the alarm guns of the sentinels, succeeded by shrieks and savage yells, gave notice of the attack of the savages. The camp fires had been kept up all night, and the Indians supposed that they would have little to do but to pick off the general and his men by the light of their own fires. "To their utter astonishment, however, General Jackson used darkness as a mantle to cover his men from their view, while his camp fires being built just far enough beyond the hollow square to compel the Indians as soon as they arrived within good rifle range, to come within the circle of light, where blinking they could see nothing, while the lurid glare of light encircling the camp, exposed their bodies



Spies reporting.

like so many red targets, to the American rifle from the dark square within, where stood the hero and his little band with the imponderable elements of light and darkness pressed into his service to make him equal to the enemy.”* The flash of the rifle discovered the position of the marksman, and the savages extinguishing the fires, commenced a furious assault on the left flank, commanded by Colonel Higgins, which was met and opposed with great firmness. General Coffee, and Colonels Carroll and Sitter, instantly repaired to the point of attack, and by exhortation and the performance of deeds of heroic daring, encouraged the men to a performance of their duty. The battle raged for half an hour; the brunt of which being against the left wing, it became considerably

* Cartwright's Eulogy.

weakened. It being now sufficiently light to ascertain correctly the position of the enemy, Captain Ferril's company was ordered to reinforce the left wing ; with the whole of which General Coffee charged and drove the enemy in confusion from the field. The Indians fled about two miles, and many of them were slain. The Americans had five killed and twenty wounded.

Having returned from the pursuit, General Coffee was detached with the friendly Indians and four hundred men, with orders to destroy the enemy's encampment, unless he should find it too strongly fortified. Having ascertained that the position was strong, and not to be taken without artillery, Coffee returned to the camp. He had scarcely done so, when a severe fire was opened on the pickets, posted on the right, accompanied by the horrible war-whoop. General Coffee requested permission to turn the enemy's left flank ; which was granted, and two hundred men ordered to follow him. This detachment being taken from different corps, he placed himself at their head, and moved briskly forward. Taking advantage of their leader's position in front, those in the rear began to drop off one by one, without his knowledge, until there were only fifty-four men left with him. With this little band he proceeded to execute his design, and vigorously attacked a superior number of the enemy. He found them occupying a ridge of open pine timber covered with low underwood, which afforded them many opportunities for concealment. To deprive them of this advantage, which they are very dexterous in taking, Coffee ordered his men to dismount and charge them. This order was promptly obeyed ; and



the enemy, driven back by the charge, took refuge on the margin of a creek covered with reeds, where they lay concealed. In this gallant charge General Coffee was wounded through the body, and his aid, Major Donelson, killed by a ball through the head; three of his men also fell.

The Indians having intended the attack on the right as a feint, now with their main force, which had hitherto been concealed, made a violent onset on Jackson's left, which they expected to find weakened and in disorder. Jackson, however, who had apprehended their design, was prepared to meet them. The left wing had been ordered to remain firm in its position; and when the first gun was heard in that quarter, he repaired thither in person, and strengthened it by ordering up additional forces from the right. The first advance of the enemy, though sudden and violent, was sustained with firmness, and opposed with great gallantry. The assailants now maintained the battle by quick and irregular firing from behind logs, trees, shrubbery, and whatever could afford concealment; behind these they would fire, then throw themselves on the ground and reload, when they would again rise and discharge their guns. After sustaining their fire in this way for some time, a charge to dislodge them from their position was ordered; and the whole line, led by Colonel Carroll, by a most brilliant and steady movement, broke in upon them, threw them into confusion, and drove them from the ground.

In the meantime, General Coffee was making every exertion to drive the savages on the right from the fastnesses into which they had retreated; but, finding

that this could not be done without great hazard and considerable loss, he determined to try the effect of a stratagem, and began to retire towards the place where he had first dismounted. This expedient produced the desired effect. The enemy, presuming it to be a retreat, and to have been adopted in consequence of the severe firing they had heard on the left wing, now forsook their hiding-places and pursued rapidly. Coffee immediately availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded of contending with them again in open fight; and a severe conflict commenced, and was obstinately maintained about an hour, during which time the loss on both sides was nearly equal. At this critical juncture, when several of the detachment had been killed, many wounded, and the remainder of the little Spartan band exhausted by fatigue; the dispersion of the enemy being effected on the left, a reinforcement was despatched by General Jackson, which, making its appearance on the enemy's left flank, put an end to the contest. General Coffee, though severely wounded, instantly ordered a charge; when the enemy, foreseeing their doom, fled in consternation, and were pursued with dreadful slaughter. Forty-five warriors were slain. Thus drew to a close a day of almost continual fighting.

Having brought in and buried the dead, and dressed the wounded, preparations were made to guard against an attack by night. The next day, General Jackson, having effected, as he believed, the main objects of the expedition, a diversion in favour of General Floyd, who was supposed to be carrying on his operations lower down on the Tallapoosa, and the relief of Fort Armstrong, prepared to return to Fort Strother.

General Jackson, in his letter to Major-General Pinckney, said that "many causes concurred to make such a measure necessary, as I had not set out prepared, or with a view to make a permanent establishment. I considered it worse than useless to advance and destroy an empty encampment. I had, indeed, hoped to have met the enemy there; but having met and beaten them a little sooner, I did not think it necessary or prudent to proceed any farther—not necessary, because I had accomplished all I could expect to effect by marching to their encampment; and because, if it was proper to contend with and weaken their forces still farther, this object would be more certainly attained, by commencing a return, which, having to them the appearance of a retreat, would inspirit them to pursue me. Not prudent—because of the number of my wounded; of the reinforcements from below, which the enemy might be expected to receive; of the starving condition of my horses, they having had neither corn nor cane for two days and nights; of the scarcity of supplies for my men, the Indians who joined me at Talladega having drawn none, and being wholly destitute; and because, if the enemy pursued me, as it was likely they would, the diversion in favour of General Floyd would be more complete than effectual." Determined by these considerations, Jackson ordered litters to be formed for the transportation of the sick and wounded, and the other preparations to be made for a return march. Everything being ready, it was commenced at half-past ten o'clock next morning, January 23d, and continued without interruption until near night; when they reached Enotichopco, having passed safely

on the way a dangerous defile, occasioned by a hurricane. Expecting to be pursued and attacked, the army marched in order of battle ; the sick and wounded being placed in the centre. Every precaution was taken to guard against an attack during the night. A breast-work was thrown up, sentinels doubled, spies sent out, and every arrangement made to repel any hostile attack. Thus guarded, they safely passed the night, though from certain signs the general was sure that the savages had been in pursuit all day, and that then they could not be far distant.





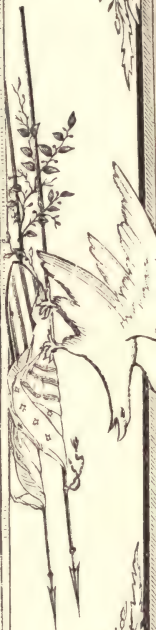
CHAPTER X.

ENOTICHOPCO.

THE night at Enotichopco was spent in momentary expectation of an attack ; but it wore away without any attempt on the part of the savages to renew the battle. This unusual circumstance in Indian warfare, led the general to conjecture that an ambuscade had been prepared, and that an attack would be made on him while crossing the creek in his front ; which, being

deep, and the banks rugged, and thickly covered with reeds, afforded many advantages for such a design. Near the crossing-place was a deep ravine, formed by the projection of two hills, overgrown with thick shrubbery and brown sedge, which afforded every convenience for concealment, whilst it entirely prevented pursuit. Along this route the army had passed in advancing ; through it it would naturally be expected to return ; and here it was believed an ambuscade would be formed, if any were intended. To guard against this, Jackson determined to take a different route. Accordingly, early in the morning, he secretly despatched a few pioneers to seek another crossing-place below. A convenient one was soon discovered about six hundred yards below the old one ; and thither the general now led his army, having previously formed his front and rear-guards, and his right and left columns, with the sick and wounded in the centre. Before taking up the line of march he issued a general order, pointing out the manner in which the men should be formed in the event of an attack on the front or rear, or on the flanks, and particularly cautioning the officers to halt and form accordingly, the instant the alarm gun should be heard.

A handsome slope of open woodland led down to the new ford, where, except immediately on the margin of the creek, which was covered with a few reeds, there was nothing to obstruct the view. The front guards and part of the columns had passed without interruption ; the wounded were also over, and the artillery just entering the creek, when the alarm gun was heard in the rear.



BATTLE OF ENOTICHOPCO.

The Indians, learning by their spies that the route of the army had been changed, quitted the defile where they had expected to commence the assault, and advancing on the rear guard, attacked a company under the command of Captain Russell. This company, though assailed by a vast multitude, returned the fire, and gradually retired until it reached the rear guard; the centre column of which, according to express instructions given, were in such a case to face about and act as the advance; whilst the right and left columns should be turned on their pivots, so as to fall on the flanks and rear of the enemy, and thus render his destruction sure. The right column of the rear guard was commanded by Colonel Perkins, the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Stump, and the centre column by Colonel Carroll. General Jackson was in the middle of the creek when the firing and yelling commenced. Having instructed his aid to form a line for the protection of the wounded, who were but a short distance in advance, and afterwards to turn the left column, he himself proceeded to the right for a similar purpose. But what was the astonishment of the general, who the day before saw these troops fight like veterans, now to behold the right and left columns of the rear guard, after a feeble resistance precipitately give way, bringing with them confusion and dismay, and by their hasty and irregular flight obstructing the passage over which the principal strength of the army was to pass. This shameful retreat was extremely disastrous, and was only prevented from being fatal by the determined bravery of a few. The greater part of the centre column followed the example of the

other two, and precipitated themselves into the creek, leaving not more than twenty-five men, who, being formed by Colonel Carroll, maintained their ground as long as it was possible to maintain it. The artillery company, commanded by Lieutenant Armstrong, and composed of young men of the first families, who had volunteered their services at the commencement of the campaign, formed with their muskets before the only piece of ordnance they had, and hastily dragged it from the creek to an eminence from which they could play to advantage. Before they could place it in the desired position, a yell from the savages and a shower of bullets warned them to prepare for their defence. The Indians endeavoured to charge and take it; but the young men formed before it with their muskets and resolutely defended it. These young men, the few who remained with Colonel Carroll and the gallant Captain Quarles, who soon fell at their head, with Russell's company of spies, the whole numbering not more than one hundred, maintained with the utmost firmness a contest for many minutes against a force at least five times greater than their own, and checked the advance of a foe already greatly inspired from the consternation his first shock had produced. Every man who there fought seemed to prefer death to flight.

The six-pounder was dragged to the top of the eminence, and turned upon the Indians. The rammer and pricker of the gun, having been left in the haste of the moment upon the limber, private Constantine Perkins rammed the cartridge home with the butt of his musket, and private Craven Jackson picked it with

his ramrod, primed with a musket cartridge, and fired. This drew the fire of the savages upon them; and before they could again load and fire, the brave Lieutenant Armstrong, their commander, fell badly wounded in the groin. By his side fell Captain Hamilton, who having been abandoned by his men at Fort Strother, with his two brothers and his aged father, had attached himself to the artillery company as a private, and in that capacity showed how deserving he was to command by the fidelity with which he obeyed. Lying upon the ground and supposed to be dying, the thoughts of the brave Armstrong were still for his country. Unable himself to aid them, he called to his men, "My brave fellows, some may fall; but you must save the cannon." He was answered with a shout for vengeance; and as Perkins and Jackson, using their former plan, again fired, many were the warriors that breathed their last.

In the meantime, General Jackson and his staff had been enabled, by great exertions, to restore something like order. The columns were again formed, and put in motion; and small detachments had been sent across the creek to support the little band that there maintained their ground. The enemy, perceiving the columns advancing, and being warmly assailed on their left flank by Captain Gordon at the head of his company of spies, who had hastened from the front and re-crossed the creek, were in turn panic-struck, and fled in confusion, leaving their blankets behind them. Detachments were ordered in pursuit, who, in a chase of two miles, destroyed many and dispersed the remainder.

It was some time before Jackson, though making the greatest exertions, could restore order. In addition to the assistance received from his staff, who were everywhere encouraging the timid and seeking to arrest the flight of the columns, he derived much help from the activity of General Coffee. That officer, in consequence of the severe wound he had received at Emuckfaw, had the day before been carried in a litter. Understanding that an attack was expected, he that morning mounted his horse and aided during the action with his usual calm and deliberate firmness. To encourage the men, General Jackson, pointing to General Coffee, exclaimed, "We'll conquer the enemy; the dead have risen and come to our aid." Not only Coffee, but all the officers of his brigade, who, having been abandoned by their men, had formed themselves into a corps, and followed the army as privates, rendered manifest now the value of experience. This was not the moment for fancied rules of etiquette. The very men who, a little time before, would have disdained advice, and spurned an order from any but their own commanders, did not scruple now to be regulated by those who seemed possessed of the power to extricate them from their danger. The hospital surgeon, Dr. Shelby, the adjutant-general, Sitler, Captain Gordon, and many others, particularly distinguished themselves in the battle.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, however, that, but for General Jackson, everything must have gone to ruin. On him all hopes were rested. In that moment of confusion he was the rallying point, even for the spirits of the brave. Firm and energetic, and, at

the same time, perfectly self-possessed, his example and his authority alike contributed to arrest the flying, and give confidence to those who maintained their ground. Cowards forgot their panic and fronted danger, when they heard his voice and beheld his manner; and the brave would have formed around his body a rampart with their own. In the midst of showers of balls, of which he seemed unmindful, he was seen performing the duties of subordinate officers, rallying the alarmed, stopping them in their flight, forming his columns, and inspiring them by his example. An army, suddenly dismayed, was thus rescued from the destruction that lately appeared inevitable.

Jackson's whole loss in the several engagements on the 22d and 23d of January, was only twenty killed and seventy-five wounded, some of whom, however, afterwards died. The loss of the enemy could not be accurately ascertained: one hundred of their warriors were found dead; but this must fall considerably short of the number really killed. The number of the wounded cannot be conjectured.

All the effects designed to be produced by the excursion were now produced. If an attack was meditated against Fort Armstrong, it was prevented. A most fortunate diversion was made in favour of General Floyd. The number of the enemy was diminished, and the confidence they had derived from the vexatious delays which Jackson was made to experience destroyed. Discontent was kept out of his army; while the troops who would have been exposed to it were beneficially employed. The enemy's country was ex-

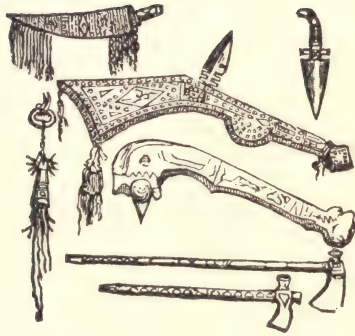
plored, and a road cut to the point where, it was probable, their force would be concentrated when driven from the country below. But, perhaps, the greatest good that resulted from the expedition, was the effect produced on the minds of the people at home, from whom was to be collected a force sufficient to terminate the war.

The enemy did not again harass the march of the little army. It was continued until the 27th, when they arrived at Fort Strother, full of the confidence which is inspired by success.

This success was justly due to the courage, energy, and military talent of General Jackson. To his indomitable spirit and incorruptible patriotism may be ascribed the final triumph of the American arms, and the subsequent security of the frontiers against savage depredations. If, when the patriotic impulses which originally animated the Tennessee troops gave place to mutinous discontent ; when the jealousy of his brother officers frustrated his plans for crushing the hostile force ; when the very executive of the state of Tennessee was disposed to abandon the ground which had been so gallantly won at Talladega, and the prospect of starvation stared the little band at Fort Strother in the very face ; if, at these times, the mind of Jackson had succumbed, and his resolution been shaken—who can imagine—who can fix the bounds of the desolation which would inevitably have ensued ! But his resolution once fixed, could not be moved ; and his firm adherence to the path of duty saved his country, and crowned his manly brow with a wreath of never-fading laurels.

Shortly after he returned to Fort Strother, the time of service of the sixty-day volunteers being nearly expired, they were discharged. He detained them only long enough after his return, to complete boats for the transportation of provisions down the Coosa; when that was done he ordered them to be marched home and honourably dismissed. The further services of the artillery corps were also dispensed with. This company had rendered important services, and adhered to him with great devotedness, in every vicissitude and through every difficulty he had encountered, from the first commencement of the campaign. His parting with them was accordingly very interesting and affecting. Although from the high sense he entertained of their bravery and fidelity he would gladly have retained them, yet he was too well convinced of the many sacrifices these young men had made, of the valour they had displayed, and the patience with which they had submitted in those moments of scarcity which had raised up discontents and mutiny in his camp, not to feel a desire to gratify their wishes, and permit them honourably to retire from a service which they had already so materially benefited. By the exertions of the governor, the ranks were filled with fresh troops; and the general and his officers exerted themselves actively in disciplining them. While thus employed, he received agreeable news of the defeat of the Indians by General Floyd at Chatahouchee. The savages made a furious attack upon his post at Camp Defiance, on the morning of the 27th of January; they were met with firmness by the American troops, and after a bloody contest driven from the field. Thirty-

seven of them were left dead on the field of battle, and the weapons and articles of dress left behind proved their whole loss to have been much greater. The Georgia troops lost seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty-two wounded. In this action, as well as in those of Emuckfaw and Enotichopco, the friendly Indians behaved with great gallantry, and rendered important service.





CHAPTER XI.

TOHOPEKA.



IN order to supply the place of the troops who had just been discharged, General Cocke had been directed to bring into the field immediately the East Tennessee troops he had failed to raise when previously ordered to do so. These men were to be mustered into the United States service, to serve three months from the 28th of February. Two thousand men were raised under this order; although Cocke pretended that it was impossible to execute it. Three thousand men from the second, or West Tennessee division, were also called out, under Brigadier-General Johnston.

On the 6th of February, the 39th regiment of United States infantry, under Colonel Williams, ar-

rived at Fort Strother. The army was now sufficiently strong to commence active operations; but the failure of supplies again impeded their movements. Notwithstanding the dismissal of the old contractors and the employment of new ones, the service continued to be very imperfectly performed. The general, becoming indignant at the delay thus occasioned, ordered that provisions should be purchased at the places where they were to have been furnished by the contractors, and that they should be obliged to bear the expense. Having thus ensured a sufficiency of provisions, the militia were ordered to march to head quarters. General Johnston's brigade arrived there on the 14th of February: but the East Tennessee troops, under Brigadier-General Doherty, manifested great indisposition to proceed. General Cocke, whose conduct had previously caused much embarrassment to General Jackson, entered the camp of General Doherty, and actually persuaded many of the troops not to proceed. One hundred and eighty men, influenced by him, deserted, and returned home. These circumstances being communicated to Jackson, he ordered General Doherty to put under arrest any officer who should attempt to produce mutiny among the troops, and send him to head quarters. The brigade was then marched to Fort Strother.

Although there was now no cause for insubordination, provisions being plentiful and the soldiers actively employed, yet the spirit of mutiny, which had been but lightly checked, again broke out. Jackson now saw that the sternest measures of military discipline had become indispensable. John Woods, once a deserter,



The last Mutiny.

now in open mutiny, was seized, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot. Painful as it was to the feelings of the general, he viewed it as a sacrifice essential to the preservation of good order, and left the sentence of the court to be inflicted. The execution was productive of the happiest effects; order was instantly produced, and that opinion, so long indulged, that a militia-man could not be put to death for any offence, was from that moment abandoned, and a strict obedience afterwards characterized the whole army.

In the early part of the month of March, 1814, General Jackson received information that a large body of Indians had assembled at the Indian encampment on the Tallapoosa called Tohopeka, which General Coffee had before pronounced too strong to be attacked to advantage without artillery.

On the 14th General Jackson marched from Fort Strother, and bent his course towards Tohopeka. On the 21st he arrived at the mouth of Cedar Creek, and there established a fort, which he named Fort Williams. On the 24th, leaving a sufficient force under Brigadier-General Johnston, for the protection of the fort, with eight days' provisions, he set out for the Talapoosa, by the way of Emuckfaw. The whole force now with him amounted to less than three thousand effective men; being considerably reduced by the necessity of leaving behind him strong garrisons at the different forts. About ten o'clock, on the morning of the 27th, after a march of fifty-two miles, he reached the village of Tohopeka. The enemy, being aware of his approach, had collected in considerable numbers, with the view of giving him battle. The warriors from the adjacent towns, Oakfuskie, Oakehoga, New Youcka, the Hillabees, the Fish-Pond, and Eulalee, amounting to a thousand or twelve hundred, were ready and waiting his approach. It is difficult to conceive of a situation more eligible for defence than the one they had chosen. Surrounded almost entirely by the river, which here takes the shape of a horse-shoe, from which it derived the name of the Horse-Shoe Bend, it was accessible only by a narrow neck of land, of three hundred and fifty yards width, which they had taken much pains to secure and defend, by erecting a breast-work, from five to eight feet high, formed of large timbers and trunks of trees laid horizontally upon each other, leaving but a single place of entrance. It extended across the point in such a direction, that an enemy approaching it would be ex-



Planting the Cannon.

posed to a double fire, from its double row of loop-holes, whilst those behind it remained in perfect security.

Having ascertained the position of the enemy, Jackson despatched General Coffee, at the head of the mounted infantry and friendly Indians, with orders to gain the southern bank of the river, encircle the bend, and make some feint or manœuvre by which to divert the enemy from the point where the real attack was intended to be made. He was particularly instructed so to arrange and dispose the force under his command that they might not escape by passing to the opposite side in their canoes, with which it was said the whole shore was lined.

Jackson, with the rest of the army, proceeded slowly and in order along the neck of land which led to

the front of their breastwork. Having planted his cannon, one six and one three-pounder, about two hundred yards from the front of the enemy's line, with a view to break down his defence, a brisk fire was commenced. The musketry and rifles, which occupied a nearer position, were used as the Indians occasionally showed themselves from behind their works. The artillery was well served by Major Bradford, and the fire kept up for two hours, without making any impression; time, however, was gained for complete readiness.

In the meantime, General Coffee having reached his point of destination on the opposite side of the river, formed his line, and despatched a part of the Indian force, with two companies of spies commanded by Captain Russell and Lieutenant Bean, across the river to the extremity of the bend. These companies set fire to a few buildings situated there, and then advanced with great gallantry towards the camp and breastwork, and commenced a spirited fire upon the enemy in their front.

This fire announcing the fact that General Coffee had arrived at his post, and secured the opposite bank of the river, the order was given by Jackson to storm the breastwork. Never were troops more eager to be led on, than were both regulars and militia. They had been waiting with impatience for the order, and hailed it with acclamations. The spirit which animated them was a sure augury of the success which was to follow. Between them there was no difference. Both advanced with the firmness and intrepidity of veteran soldiers. The former, the thirtieth regiment, led on by their skilful commander,



Battle of Tohopeka—Death of Major Montgomery.

Colonel Williams, and the brave but ill-fated Major Montgomery, and the militia, under the command of Colonel Burch, moved forward with alacrity, in the midst of a most tremendous fire, which poured upon them in one continuous stream. They soon reached the ramparts, where an obstinate and destructive conflict ensued, each contending for the loop-holes, on different sides. Many of the enemy's balls were found

welded between the muskets and bayonets of the soldiers. At this moment, Major Montgomery, leaping on the wall, called to his men to mount and follow him. He had scarcely spoken, when, shot through the head, he fell to the ground. But his followers had scaled the ramparts; and the savages, finding their position no longer tenable, retired, and concealed themselves amidst the brush and timber, which lay thickly scattered over the peninsula, whence they continued resistance, and kept up a galling and constant fire, until they were again charged and forced back. Driven to despair, not knowing whither to flee, and resolving not to surrender, they saw no other alternative than to effect their escape by passing in their canoes to the opposite bank of the river; from this, however, they were prevented, by perceiving General Coffee's detachment in possession of the bank. Under these circumstances, the remaining warriors, who yet survived the severity of the conflict, betaking themselves to flight, leaped down the banks, and concealed themselves along the cliffs and steeps, which were covered by the trees which had been felled from their margin. From these secreted spots, when an opportunity offered, they would fire and disappear.

General Jackson, perceiving that any further resistance would only involve them in utter destruction, sent a flag, accompanied by an interpreter, to propose to them a surrender and save the further effusion of blood. Whether the proposal was fully explained, none but the interpreter can know; but instead of being accepted, as was fully expected, and in every instance of civilized warfare would have been the case,

it was answered by a discharge, which wounded one of the messengers. Finding they would not yield, nor abandon the course of desperation which they had resolved on, orders were given to dislodge them. To accomplish this the artillery was turned against them, but with no effect. Lighted torches were then thrown down the steeps, which, communicating with the brush and trees, and setting them on fire, drove the Indians from their hiding-places, and brought them to view. Thus the carnage continued until night separated the combatants; when the few misguided savages who had avoided the havoc and slaughter of the day were enabled through the darkness of the night to make their escape.

While the main attack was thus made, the spies and friendly Indians sent over by General Coffee were effecting much; and no doubt to the course pursued by them, was greatly owing the facility with which the breastwork was scaled and its possession obtained. The flames of their town necessarily divided the attention and opposition of the savages, and drew some of them to the protection of a point which they had hitherto believed secure, and where they had not apprehended an attack. Thus assailed from an unexpected quarter,—a force in their rear, and another still stronger advancing in their front, afforded the invading army a much easier and less hazardous opportunity of succeeding in the assault and securing the victory.

This battle gave a death-blow to all the hopes of the Creeks; nor did they afterwards attempt to make a stand. They had now tried every mode of warfare known to them without success. From their fastnesses

in the woods they had tried their system of ambuscades; they had brought on the attack; they had made use of darkness and the cover of night; they had made the open attack in broad day; and now they had tried the strength of an entrenched and fortified camp; and in all they had met but failure and disaster. They had, no doubt, strongly fortified Tohopeka, in consequence of their continual defeats, and had retired to it as a last resort, determined to conquer or perish. That such a resolution had been taken, is presumed from their desperate obstinacy—in their refusal of all offers of quarter; and is rendered certain from the circumstance that they permitted their women and children to remain in the encampment, whom, in other cases, they were always careful to remove far from danger.

In this action the best and bravest of their warriors were destroyed, and a greater loss sustained than had been met with in any of their previous contests. Few escaped the carnage. Of the killed, many were thrown into the river while the battle raged; many, in endeavouring to pass it, were destroyed by the steady fire of Coffee's brigade; and five hundred and fifty-seven were left dead on the ground.

Among the number of the slain were three of their prophets. Decorated in a wild and fantastic manner,—with the plumage of many birds about their heads and shoulders, with savage grimaces and horrid contortions of their body, these impostors danced and howled their horrid incantations to their gods. Their infatuated followers already believed a communion with heaven sure, which, moved by entreaties, and



Indian Prophet.

offered homage, would aid them in the conflict, and give a triumph to their arms. Fear was entirely banished from their minds; and when they beheld the army approaching, and already scaling their breastwork, even then, far from being dispirited, hope survived, and victory was still anticipated.

Four men, who surrendered, and three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. One of these men, “a young Creek warrior, severely wounded, was brought before General Jackson, and a surgeon was called to dress his wounds. With his rude notions of war he regarded his death as inevitable, and looking earnestly at the general, as his limb was bound up, he exclaimed, ‘Cure him, kill him again?’ Jackson



The young Creek Warrior.

assured him that he was safe ; and moved by his youth, as he had previously been affected by the helpless infant at Tallushatchee, he sent him home to Nashville, watched over his interests, and established him in a respectable trade.

“How freshly and sweetly, like blossoms on the battle-field, do such noble and generous acts spring up amid the waste of war ! and how much of beauty and of tenderness do they add to the heroic strength of a great commander ! They are like a garland of roses around the iron helmet of the warrior. A hundred generations have wept over the verses of Homer which describe the parting of the Trojan chief from his infant boy as he goes out to battle. American hearts shall throb with tearful pleasure, through all time, as they think of the tenderness of Jackson

towards the infant Lincoyer, and the youthful captive of Tohopeka.”*

That so few warriors should have sought and obtained safety, by appealing to the clemency of the victors, will not appear a matter of surprise to persons acquainted with the mode of Indian warfare. It seldom happens that they extend or solicit quarter: faithless themselves, they place no reliance on the faith of others; and when overcome in battle, seek no other protection than dexterity and speed afford. Another cause for it may be found in a reason already given, in the attack made by a detachment of General Cocke's division on the Hillabee tribes, who were assailed and put to the sword at a moment when, having asked for peace, they were expecting it to be given. This misfortune had destroyed all confidence on the part of the savages, in the integrity and humanity of the Americans; and they now looked and trusted for safety to nothing but their own valour. In this contest they maintained resistance, fighting and firing from their hiding-places, long after the hope, either of success or escape, was or should have been at an end, and after the proposal had been submitted to spare the further useless waste of blood. A few who had lain quiet and concealed under the cliffs, survived the severity of the conflict, and effected their retreat under cover of the night.

Jackson's loss, though considerable, was small when compared with that of the enemy. The whole estimate, including in it the Cherokees and friendly Creeks, was but fifty-four killed, and one hundred

* Bolles's Eulogy.

and fifty-six wounded. Of the former was Major Montgomery, a brave and enterprising young officer of the thirty-ninth regiment, and Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, who fell early in the charge.

The object of the expedition being thus accomplished, General Jackson, in pursuance of his first plan, decided to return to Fort Williams for provisions, and then hastened to the Hickory Ground, where he hoped to be able to put an end to the war. After committing the bodies of the slain to a watery grave in the river Tallapoosa, that they might not be scalped by the Indians, General Jackson set out on his return to Fort Williams.

Having arrived at that post on the 1st of April, his first object was to excite in the breasts of his soldiers a sense of pride, commensurate with the achievements they had performed and the valour they had displayed. He was impelled to it by the consciousness that excitement, once subsided, could with difficulty be again roused; and from a strong desire to ward off from his ranks that despondency which had once proved so fatal to his hopes. Besides, he wished to point out to his followers the good effects which would result from their splendid victories, to thank them for their implicit obedience and unsurpassed gallantry, and to congratulate them on the approach of the period when the frontiers should be no longer alarmed by the yell of the murderous Creek. With a view to these objects, the next day, on parade, before the fort, he addressed them as follows:

“Soldiers of Tennessee:—You have entitled yourselves to the gratitude of your country and your gene-

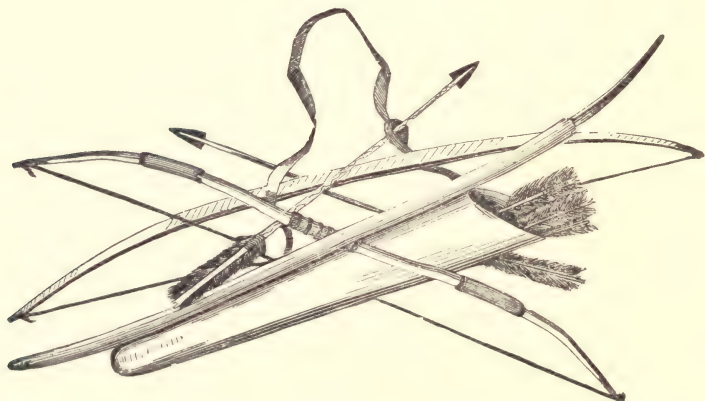
ral. The expedition from which you have just returned has, by your good conduct, been rendered prosperous beyond any example in the history of our warfare: it has redeemed the character of our state, and of that description of troops of which the greater part of you are.

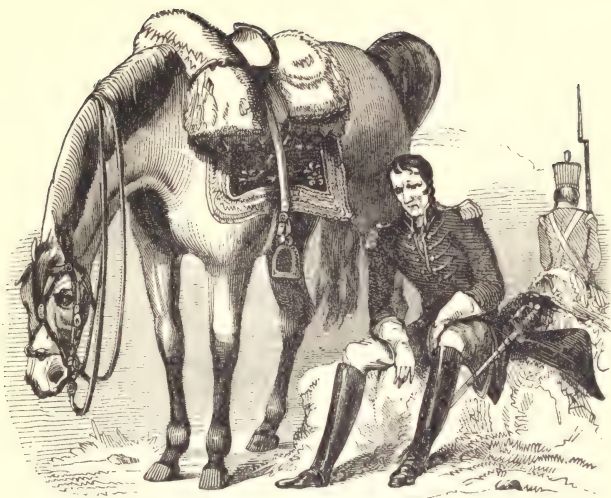
“You have, within a few days, opened our way to Tallapoosa, and destroyed a confederacy of the enemy, ferocious by nature, and grown insolent from impunity. Relying on their numbers, the security of their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they derided our approach, and already exulted in anticipation of the victory they expected to obtain. But they were ignorant of the influence of government on the human powers, nor knew what brave men and civilized force could effect. By their yells they hoped to frighten us, and with their wooden fortifications to oppose us. Stupid mortals! their yells but designated their situation the more certainly; whilst their walls became a snare for their own destruction. So will it ever be, when presumption and ignorance contend against bravery and prudence.

“The fiends of the Tallapoosa will no longer murder our women and children, or disturb the quiet of our borders. Their midnight flambeaux will no more illumine their council-house, or shine upon the victim of their infernal orgies. In their places a new generation will arise, who will know their duty better. The weapons of warfare will be exchanged for the utensils of husbandry; and the wilderness, which now withers in sterility, and mourns the desolation which overspreads her, will blossom as the rose, and become the

nursery of the arts. But before this happy day can arrive, other chastisements remain to be inflicted. It is indeed lamentable that the path to peace should lead through blood, and over the bodies of the slain; but it is a dispensation of Providence to inflict partial evils that good may be produced.

“Our enemies are not sufficiently humbled,—they do not sue for peace. A collection of them await our approach, and remain to be dispersed. Buried in ignorance, and seduced by their prophets, they have the weakness to believe they will still be able to make a stand against us. They must be undeceived, and made to atone their obstinacy and their crime by still further suffering. The hopes which have so long deluded them, must be driven from their last refuge. They must be made to know that their prophets are impostors, and that our strength is mighty, and will prevail. Then, and not till then, may we expect to make with them a peace that shall be lasting.”





CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION OF THE CREEK WAR.



WHILE General Jackson was thus increasing the strength of his country, his own was fast failing. Incessant fatigue and arduous duty had retarded the recovery of his health and reduced him almost to a skeleton; but the success which attended his operations made him forget, or, at least, disregard his debility. Understanding that the enemy was embodied in considerable numbers at Hoithlewa-

lee, an Indian town situated not far from the Hickory Ground, he was anxious to recommence his operations. The forces under his command had been too much reduced in strength by sickness, some discharges which he had granted, and the loss sustained in the late battle, to permit him to act as efficiently as he wished. It was desirable, therefore, to effect a junction with the southern army as soon as possible. The North Carolina troops, under the command of General Graham, and those of Georgia, under Colonel Milton, were said to be somewhere south of the Tallapoosa, and could be at no great distance. General Pinckney, who commanded the whole, recommended to Jackson to effect this union as soon as possible. It therefore became necessary to apprise those officers of his intended movements, that they might be enabled to co-operate with him. Having, not without difficulty, engaged suitable messengers, Jackson sent to Colonel Milton, informing him that on the 7th he would take up the line of march for Hoithlewalee. This place he expected to reach by the 11th, and he desired the colonel to act in concert with him against it. Pursuant to his promise, he left Fort Williams on the 7th, with all his disposable force, and proceeded on his march; but the height of the water in the streams delayed his arrival at Hoithlewalee till the 13th. The quantity of water in the creek before the town prevented him from crossing until the next day, by which time the enemy had escaped. They were pursued some distance, and about twenty-five taken prisoners. Had Colonel Milton co-operated, as he might have done, and surrounded the enemy's rear, they could not have es-



Pursuit of the Indians.

caped. On the 14th, he sent a note to Jackson that he was within four miles of the town, which he intended to attack that day. He had been saved the trouble, however, by the general, who had destroyed the town.

The provisions brought by the army from Fort Williams being nearly exhausted, Jackson requested Colonel Milton, who had an abundant supply, to make up the deficiency. The colonel delayed his compliance, when the request was changed to an order, and he was also directed to join the main army.

The spirits of the Indians seemed to be now completely broken; and their chiefs came into the camp daily, proffering the calumet or pipe of peace, and begging that the warfare against them might be discontinued. They were ordered to settle in the rear of the army, and north of Fort Williams, where they would not be molested; and General Jackson resolved to proceed to the Hickory Ground, where the hostile tribes were expected to make their last and most desperate stand. This was the name given to the country at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, which their traditions declared had never been desecrated by the foot of a white man, and which was considered holy ground.

Proceeding on his march, Jackson arrived at the site of the old Toulossee fort, situated on the Coosa, not far from the confluence, at which he erected another, which was called after himself. Here the rivers approach within six hundred yards of each other, and again diverging, unite sixty miles below. At this place, the chiefs of the different tribes were daily arriving, and offering to submit on any terms. They all concurred in their statements, that those of the hostile party who were still opposed to asking for peace had fled from the nation, and sought refuge along the coasts and in Pensacola. General Jackson renewed the assurances he had previously given, that they could find safety in no other way than by repairing to the section of country already pointed out to them, where they might remain quiet and undisturbed.

To put their friendly professions at once to the test, he directed them to bring Weatherford to his



Weatherford.

camp tied, that he might be dealt with as he deserved. He was one of the first chiefs of the nation, and had been the principal actor in the butchery at Fort Mimms. Learning from the chiefs on their return, what had been required of them by Jackson, he was prevailed upon, as being perhaps the safer course, to go and make a voluntary surrender of himself. Having reached the camp without being known, and obtained admission to the general's quarters, he told him he was Weatherford, the chief who had commanded at Fort Mimms, and desiring peace for himself and his people, had come to ask it. Somewhat surprised that one who so richly merited punishment should so sternly demand the protection which had been extended to others, he replied to him that he was aston-



Weatherford surrenders himself.

ished he should venture to appear in his presence; that he was not ignorant of his having been at Fort Mimms, nor of his conduct there, for which he well deserved to die. "I had directed," continued he, "that you should be brought to me confined; had you appeared in this way, I should have known how to have treated you." Weatherford replied, "I am in your power—do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and fought them bravely; if I had an army, I would yet fight and contend to the

last: but I have none; my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation." Pleased at the firmness of the man, Jackson informed him that he did but solicit him to lay down his arms and become peaceable: "The terms on which your nation can be saved and peace restored, have already been disclosed: in this way, and in none other, can you obtain safety." If, however, he wished still to continue the war, and felt himself prepared to meet the consequences, although he was then completely in his power, no advantage should be taken of that circumstance; that he was at perfect liberty to retire and unite himself with the war party, if he pleased; but if taken, his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes; if this were not desired, he might remain where he was, and should be protected.

Weatherford answered that he desired peace, that his nation might in some measure be relieved from their sufferings; that independent of other misfortunes, growing out of a state of war, their cattle and grain were all wasted and destroyed, and their women and children destitute of provisions. "But," continued he, "I may be well addressed in such language now. There was a time when I had a choice, and could have answered you; I have none now,—even hope has ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Talladega, Tallushatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were chances of success I never left my post nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and

I now ask it for my nation and for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back with the deepest regret, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man: I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should accede to: whatever they may be, it would now be madness and folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me amongst the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out, can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge; and to this they must not and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told us where we might go and be safe. This is a good talk, and my nation ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it."

Satisfied of his sincerity, the general authorized him to return to the forests, with a small number of followers, and conduct the remnant of his nation to the country which had been assigned them, above Fort Williams. Numerous detachments were sent out to scour the Indian country, and disperse any collections of warriors they might find; but they met with no opposition; the Indians everywhere manifesting a desire for the return of peace.

On the 20th of April, General Pinckney arrived at Fort Jackson, and took the command. The measures adopted by Jackson met his full approval. The possession of the ground which had been gained, and the

protection of the frontiers against any future attack which might be made, being secured by the line of forts which had been established connecting the Alabama with the settlements of Tennessee and Georgia, there remained no necessity for keeping an army in the field. The time of the West Tennessee troops being about to expire, Jackson was ordered to march them back to the state, and discharge them. The division of General Doherty was retained to garrison the several posts. Four hundred men were stationed at Fort Williams, two hundred and fifty at Fort Strother, and seventy-five at Fort Armstrong and New Deposit. Captain Hammond's company of rangers was ordered to garrison Old Deposit.

General Jackson received the order to march on the 21st of April, and in two hours was on his way. On the evening of the 24th, he arrived at Fort Williams. From this place he detached Brigadier-General Johnston, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to proceed to the head of the Cahawba river, to destroy any bodies of the enemy who might be collected there, and rejoin the main body at Deposit. The detachment proceeded as ordered, but found no enemy, and returned, after burning several Indian towns. Jackson continued his march to Camp Blount, near Fayetteville, where the troops were honourably discharged. The parting of these brave men from their commander was very affecting. Endeared to each other by the remembrance of the privations they had borne, of the difficulties they had overcome, and of the bloody fields on which, side by side, they had contended, the dissolution of the relation they had

sustained to each other called forth the warmest emotions. The general addressed his fellow-soldiers in terms of the strongest attachment, recounting their deeds of fame, their patience in hardship, and their valour in the field, and assuring them that the recollection of their services would never be effaced from the grateful hearts of their countrymen.

Warmly as Jackson was attached to his soldiers, still more ardently did they love and admire his noble qualities. His conduct during the whole war had entitled him to the name of a great general. When supplies failed, and starvation seemed to be at the door, he shared the same fare as the meanest of his followers, setting them a noble example of manly endurance. When the mutinous conduct of his troops aroused the fiery spirit which slept within him, he heeded not his own danger, but freely exposed his life to the fury of his troops, that he might save them from disgrace, and his country from ruin. Then it was that "he shone before his mutinous followers as something god-like; they bowed in awe before him, and obeyed his commands as a superior being."^{*}

In the moment of action he was characterized by a perfect contempt of danger, a constant presence of mind, and a confidence of success which nothing could shake. His eagle eye saw at once what was necessary to be done, and his active mind was never at a loss for the plan for attaining his objects. To his firmness in the midst of danger, and his never-failing confidence, were owing, in a great measure, the suc-

* Garland's Eulogy.

cess of the campaign. These things were known to his soldiers, who regarded him with a sentiment approaching to adoration. They were always ready, after this time, to follow him to the field, feeling that in their general they had an assurance of success.

General Jackson, having brought the Creek war to a successful termination, wished to retire to private life, to recover his health, and obtain the relaxation of mind and body which his arduous labours had rendered necessary. His country, however, could not afford to lose the services of a genius so brilliant, a patriotism so ardent. The general government, having seen and admired the consummate military knowledge displayed by him in the Creek campaign, determined to secure his services to the regular army. On the 22d of May he was notified by the war department, that the president had appointed him brigadier-general, and brevet-major-general, in the United States service. Shortly afterwards, he was still further honoured with a commission as major-general, a vacancy having been created by the resignation of Major-General Harrison. The first service in which the government employed him, was the negotiation of a treaty with the savages whom he had conquered.

Pursuant to the orders of the secretary of war, General Jackson proceeded again to the scene of his trials and triumphs. He arrived at the Alabama river on the 10th of July, 1814, and immediately entered upon his duties. By the 10th of August, he had concluded a treaty with the Creeks, by which they bound themselves not to engage in hostilities against the United States, nor to permit emissaries from any



General Harrison.

foreign power to enter their country. They also agreed to cede to the United States all that part of their territory lying west and south of a line running along the Coosa river from the Cherokee boundary to Woe-tum-ka, and thence eastwardly to Georgia. They pleaded long and earnestly to be permitted to retain their lands.

Unwilling to resort to any other mode of living than that to which they had been always accustomed ; and satisfied that their means of subsistence would be lost in the surrender of their country, they remained obstinately opposed to such an arrangement. Before being finally acted upon, the treaty was fully debated in council, and the voice of the nation decided against it. Jackson had already submitted the views of his



Big Warrior.

government, and now met them in council to learn their determination.

He was answered by the Big Warrior, a friendly chief, and one of their first orators, who declared the reluctance they felt in yielding to the demand, from a conviction of the consequences involved, and the distresses it must inevitably bring upon them. The firm and dignified eloquence of this untutored orator evinced a nerve and force of expression that might not have passed unnoticed before a more highly polished assembly. The conclusion of his speech is given, for the satisfaction of such as can mark the bold display of savage genius, and admire it when discovered. Having unfolded the causes that produced the war, and admitted that they had been preserved alone by the army which had hastened to their assistance, he urged, that though in justice it might be required of them to

defray the expenses incurred by the transfer of a part of their country, yet the demand was premature, because the war party was not conquered: they had only fled away, and might yet return. He portrayed the habits of the Indians, and how seriously they would be affected by the required surrender; and thus concluded:

“The President, our father, advises us to honesty and fairness, and promises that justice shall be done: I hope and trust it will be! I made this war, which has proved so fatal to my country, that the treaty entered into a long time ago with Father Washington might not be broken. To his friendly arm I hold fast. I will never break that chain of friendship we made together, and which bound us to stand by the United States. He was a father to the Muscoga people; and not only to them, but to all the people beneath the sun. His talk I now hold in my hand. There sits the agent* he sent among us. Never has he broken the treaty. He has lived with us a long time. He has seen our children born, who now have children. By his direction, cloth was woven, and clothes were made, and spread through our country: but the red-sticks came, and destroyed all,—we have none now. Hard is our situation, and you ought to consider it. I state what all the nation knows: nothing will I keep secret.

“There is the Little Warrior, whom Colonel Hawkins knows. While we were giving satisfaction for the murders which had been committed, he proved a

* Colonel Hawkins.

mischief-maker ; he went to the *British* on the lakes ; he came back, and brought a package to the frontiers, which increased the murders here. This conduct has already made the war party to suffer greatly ; but, although almost destroyed, they will not yet open their eyes ; but are still led away by the *British at Pensacola*. Not so with us : we were rational, and had our senses—we yet are so. In the war of the revolution, our father beyond the waters encouraged us to join him, and we did so. We had no sense then. The promises he made were never kept. We were young and foolish, and fought with him. The *British* can no longer persuade us to do wrong : they have deceived us once, and can deceive us no more. You are two great people. If you go to war, we will have no concern in it ; for we are not able to fight. We wish to be at peace with every nation. If they offer me arms, I will say to them, You put me in danger to war against a people born in our own land. They shall never force us into danger. You shall never see that our chiefs are boys in council, who will be forced to do anything. I talk thus, knowing that Father Washington advised us never to interfere in wars. He told us that those in peace were the happiest people. He told us that if an enemy attacked him, he had warriors enough, and did not wish his red children to help him. If the *British* advise us to do anything, I will tell you,—not hide it from you. If they say we must fight, I will tell them, No !”

The war party not being entirely subdued, was but a pretext to avoid the demand ; presuming that if the council should break up without anything being defi-

nately done, they might, in part, or perhaps altogether, avoid what was now required ; but the inflexibility of the person with whom they were treating, evinced to them that, however just and well-founded might be their objections, the policy under which he acted was too clearly defined for an abandonment of his demand to be at all calculated upon. Shelocta, one of their chiefs, who had joined Jackson's troops at the commencement of the war, who had marched and fought with them in all their battles, and had attached to himself strongly the confidence of the commanding general, now addressed him, wishing to preserve to the nation the country west of the Coosa. He appealed to the feelings of Jackson ; told him of the dangers they had passed together ; and of his faithfulness to him in the trying scenes through which they had gone.

The voice of none ought to have been heard before Shelocta's. None had rendered greater services, and none had been more faithful. He had claims growing out of his fidelity that few others had ; but his wishes were at variance with what Jackson considered the interests of his country ; and he answered without hesitation.

"You know," said he, "that the portion of your country which you desire to retain, is that through which the intruders and mischief-makers from the lakes reached you, and urged your nation to those acts of violence that have involved your people in wretchedness, and your country in ruin. Through it leads the path Tecumseh trod when he came to visit you : that path must be stopped. Until this be done, your nation cannot expect happiness, nor mine

security. I have already told you the reasons for demanding it; they are such as ought not—cannot be departed from. This evening must determine whether or not you are disposed to become friendly. Your rejecting the treaty will show you to be the enemies of the United States—enemies even to yourselves.” He admitted it to be true that the war was not ended, but that this was an additional reason why the cession should be made; that then a line would be drawn by which his soldiers would be able to distinguish and know their friends. “When our armies,” continued he, “came here, the hostile party had even stripped you of your country: we retook it, and now offer it to you;—theirs we propose to retain. Those who are disposed to give effect to the treaty, will sign it. They will be within our territory; will be protected and fed; and no enemy of theirs or ours shall molest them. Those who oppose it, shall have leave to retire to Pensacola. Here is the paper: take it, and show the president, who are his friends. Consult, and this evening let me know who will sign it, and who will not. I do not wish, nor will I attempt to force any of you;—act as you think proper.”

This freedom of action admitted of little choice in their weakened and dispirited condition; and at the appointed time the treaty was returned with the signatures of the chiefs. The frontiers were thus secured against savage depredations, and the communication between the Creeks and Seminoles entirely destroyed. It would have been unsafe, however, to regard peace as permanently secured, while several of the principal chiefs of the hostile Creeks, with many of their fol-



Treaty with the Creeks.

lowers, were protected by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola. Two of these chiefs, named M'Queen and Francis, had taken an active part in the massacre at Fort Mimms, and the subsequent hostilities. The Spanish governor permitted them to be exercised in military evolutions, and regularly drilled by British officers; and arms and ammunition for their use were landed from British vessels. It could not be overlooked that this course of the Spaniards would inevitably lead to a renewal of the Creek war, with perhaps greater barbarity than ever. General Jackson determined to put a stop to these proceedings, by remon-



Indian Village.

strance, if possible ; by force, if argument should fail. Previous to addressing the Spanish governor on the subject, he sent several officers privately to Pensacola, to ascertain the true state of things at that post. They reported that the information previously received was correct, and that the governor was completely under the influence of the British. Jackson now wrote a letter to Don Gonzales Manriquez, the Spanish governor, requesting him to deliver up M'Queen and Francis, that they might receive the punishment due to their crimes ; and remonstrating against the protection and assistance afforded to the British. The governor returned a positive refusal to what he affected to con-

sider an extraordinary demand, and even asserted that the United States had usurped the territory ceded to them by the Creeks in the treaty of the Hickory Ground. An angry correspondence followed, without producing any effect upon the Spaniard.

After concluding the Creek negotiations, General Jackson was appointed commander-in-chief of the 7th military district, comprising Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory ; and fixed his head quarters at Mobile.





Death of Lieutenant Murray.

CHAPTER XIII.

PENSACOLA.



OUR narrative now takes us to the Spanish province of Florida. Special messengers, sent by Jackson to Pensacola, had reported the presence of the British and hostile Indians there, in great force. One of these messengers, Captain Gordon, reported that he saw in Pensacola and its vicinity upwards of one hundred and fifty British officers, a park of artillery, and about five hundred Indians, dressed in British uniform, and under drill by British officers. General Jackson, to make assurance doubly sure, despatched Lieutenant

Murray, with twenty-five men, to reconnoitre Pensacola and the fortress of Barrancas, and report the truth of the matter. They saw seven British armed vessels in the bay, and the British jack hoisted beside the Spanish flag on the walls of the Barrancas. Returning, within three miles of Pensacola, Lieutenant Murray was mortally wounded by a rifle-shot of an Indian. The report of the rifle was answered from the fort and the town, and the detachment had to hasten onward to avoid capture. The Indian was slain, and Murray was put on horseback, when the troop proceeded. It had gone but a short distance, when it was perceived that the lieutenant was dead. In full hearing of the whoops, yells, and firing, indicating a close pursuit, the troops halted at a little hole in the earth, or ravine, and laid the body of their commander therein, "with his martial cloak around him;" a little earth and leaves were hastily thrown over his remains, and the party pushed forward to the American camp.*

All this was done in Spanish territory, in the territory of a king professing to be neutral in the war between Britain and the United States. Jackson immediately made this state of affairs known to the government. In detailing to the secretary of war what had been communicated to him, he remarks:—

"If the hostile Creeks have taken refuge in Florida, and are there fed, clothed, and protected; if the British have landed a large force, and munitions of war, and are fortifying and stirring up the savages; will you only

* Cartwright's Eulogy.

say to me, raise a few hundred militia, which can be quickly done, and with such regular force as can be conveniently collected, make a descent upon Pensacola, and reduce it? If so, I promise you the war in the south shall have a speedy termination, and English influence be for ever destroyed with the savages in this quarter."

The secretary of war, General Armstrong, coincided with him, and, indeed, authorized him to attack Pensacola; but though his letter bore date the 18th of July, 1814, *it was never received by Jackson until the 17th of January, 1815*; that is, nine days after the British army had been partly slaughtered and partly driven into the sea by the battle of New Orleans!

In the meantime he had received no instructions from the war department relative to the course to be pursued towards the *neutral* Spanish authorities in Florida. Accordingly, he at first remonstrated with Manriquez, the Spanish governor, upon the impropriety and impolicy of his conduct in admitting and sheltering within his walls a power with which the United States were at war. He concluded by soliciting the expulsion of the hostile Creeks and British from Pensacola and the Barrancas, and by *requesting* him to point out the course he was about to pursue.

The governor, however, felt himself growing in importance. He had received intelligence from Europe of the defeat and imprisonment of Napoleon Buonaparte,—he had placed arms in the hands of savages "for the purposes of self-defence"—many of them were flocking into his territory, and more even yet expected—the British had already landed a partial

force, and a greater one was daily looked for. Against this certain and expected strength, added to what his own resources could supply, he believed an American general would not venture to advance. These considerations led him to assume a lofty tone in his answer to Jackson. He arraigned the conduct of the United States, in extinguishing the Indian title on the Alabama; in harbouring the pirates of Barataria; in disregarding and violating their treaties; and he pointed out the danger to which the restoration of peace in Europe might shortly expose them.

He was as yet ignorant of the energy of the man already near his borders, and who, to march against and break down his fancied securities, did not desire to be ordered, but only to be apprised by his country that he was at liberty to do it. Jackson determined again to address him, and to close the correspondence by exhibiting fully the grounds of complaint and accusation against him, in a style at least as courtly as his own. He accordingly despatched to him the following letter.

“Were I clothed,” he remarks, “with diplomatic power for the purpose of discussing the topics embraced in the wide range of injuries of which you complain, and which have long since been adjusted, I could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties, steadfast in their friendships, nor have ever claimed anything that was not warranted by justice. They have endured many insults from the governors and other officers of Spain, which, if sanctioned by their sovereign, amounted to acts of war, without any previous declaration on the

subject. They have excited the savages to war, and afforded them the means of waging it: the property of our citizens has been captured at sea, and if compensation has not been refused, it has at least been withheld. But, as no such powers have been delegated to me, I shall not assume them, but leave them to the representatives of our respective governments.

“I have the honour of being intrusted with the command of this district. Charged with its protection and the safety of its citizens, I feel my ability to discharge the task, and trust your excellency will always find me ready and willing to go forward in the performance of that duty, whenever circumstances shall render it necessary. I agree with you, perfectly, that candour and polite language should, at all times, characterize the communications between the officers of friendly sovereignties; and I assert, without the fear of contradiction, that my former letters were couched in terms the most respectful and unexceptionable. I only requested, and did not demand, as you have asserted, the ringleaders of the Creek confederacy, who had taken refuge in your town, and who had violated all laws, moral, civil, and divine. This I had a right to do, from the treaty which I sent you, and which I now again enclose, with a request that you will change your translation, believing, as I do, that your former one was wrong, and has deceived you. What kind of an answer you returned, a reference to your letter will explain. The whole of it breathed nothing but hostility, grounded upon assumed facts and false charges, and entirely evading the inquiries that had been made.

“I can but express my astonishment at your protest against the cession on the Alabama, lying within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States, and which has been ratified in due form by the principal chiefs and warriors of the nation. But my astonishment subsides, when, on comparing it, I find it upon a par with the rest of your letter and conduct ; taken together, they afford a sufficient justification for any consequences that may ensue. My government will protect every inch of her territory, her citizens, and their property, from insult and depredation, regardless of the political revolutions of Europe : and although she has been at all times sedulous to preserve a good understanding with all the world, yet she has sacred rights that cannot be trampled upon with impunity. Spain had better look to her own intestine commotions, before she walks forth in that majesty of strength and power which you threaten to draw upon the United States.

“Your excellency has been candid enough to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying over one of your forts. All this is done whilst you are pretending to be neutral. You cannot be surprised, then, but on the contrary will provide a fort in your town for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it in my head to pay you a visit.

“In future, I beg you withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am ; nor consider me any more as a diplomatic character, unless as proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon.”



Arrival of British ships at Pensacola.

On the 25th of August, three British ships of war arrived at Pensacola, and garrisoned the fort at that place with three hundred men. At the same time a large quantity of arms and munitions of war were deposited there, the whole destined for the use of a large armament which the British were preparing in the West Indies for the conquest of the Mississippi valley. Colonel Nicholls, the British commander, issued the following audacious address to the people of Louisiana and Kentucky.

“Natives of Louisiana!—On you the first call is made to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil. Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you also I call to aid me in this just cause. The American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large

body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed, inhabitants of the country, at our approach: the same good faith and disinterestedness, which has distinguished the conduct of Britons in Europe, accompanies them here; you will have no fear of litigious taxes imposed on you for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquillity of your country, will be guaranteed to you by men who will suffer no infringement of theirs. Rest assured that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans; to join you in liberating these southern provinces from their yoke, and drive them into those limits formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves in the most solemn manner not to injure in the slightest degree the persons or property of any but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection: nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshold thereof, under penalty of death from his own countrymen: not even an enemy will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men, by their good conduct and treatment to them, will, (if it be possible,) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct lately on the Escambia, and within a neutral territory. Inhabitants of Kentucky! you have too long borne

with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons: be imposed on no longer; but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down, will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guarantied to you. Men of Kentucky! let me call to your view (and I trust to your abhorrence) the conduct of those factions which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve in defence of her own, and the liberties of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost at her last gasp—when Britons alone showed an undaunted front,—basely did these assassins endeavour to stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, renovated from the bloody, but successful struggle; Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens, justly to revenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust; leave that contemptible few to shift for themselves: let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you longer support these brawlers for liberty, who call it freedom when themselves are free? Be no longer

their dupes,—accept of my offers—everything I have promised in this paper I guaranty to you on the sacred honour of a British officer. Given under my hand, at my head quarters, Pensacola, this 29th day of August, 1814.

“EDWARD NICHOLLS.”

The sacred honour of a British officer! Coming, as he says, “at the head of a *large body* of savages” to “free the people of America from *litigious taxes*,” while the people of England were at the very moment paying enormous taxes to support him and his family. However, here is this man of “sacred honour” telling the Americans that his “head quarters” are at Pensacola, though the Spaniard pleaded his neutrality.

Immediately on seeing this proclamation, General Jackson again urged on the government the reduction of Pensacola. In one of his letters he says:—

“How long will the United States pocket the reproach and open insults of Spain? It is alone by a manly and dignified course that we can secure respect from other nations and peace to our own. Temporizing policy is not only a disgrace, but a curse to any nation. It is a fact that a British captain of marines is and has been for some time engaged in drilling and organizing the fugitive Creeks, under the eye of the governor; endeavouring by his influence and presents to draw to his standard as well the peaceable as hostile Indians. If permission had been given me to march against this place twenty days ago, I would ere this have planted there the *American Eagle*; now we must trust alone to our valour, and the justice of

our cause. But my present resources are so limited, —a sickly climate as well as an enemy to contend with, and without the means of transportation to change the position of my army, that, resting on the bravery of my little phalanx, I can only hope for success.”

As soon as his business at Fort Jackson was completed he set out for Mobile, to place the country in a state of defence. The third regiment, a part of the forty-fourth and thirty-ninth, was all the regular force he could at this time command. There were now so many signs of an early visit from the enemy, that Jackson wrote to his adjutant-colonel, Butler, and ordered him to hasten forward with all the volunteers he could procure, and join him without delay. The order reached Nashville on the 9th of September, and by the 28th, General Coffee commenced his march for Mobile, at the head of two thousand volunteers ; while Colonel Butler, with the greatest activity, hastened to meet and push on the militia under Colonel Lowery.

Nicholls had waited about two weeks, that his proclamation might take effectual hold and prepare the inhabitants to open their bosoms to receive him, when this delivering hero, aided by his Indian and Spanish allies, set out to ascertain the effect it had wrought. His first visit was to Fort Bowyer, situated on the extreme end of a narrow neck of land about eighteen miles below the head of Mobile bay, and commanding the entrance. The fort was defended by Major Lawrence of the United States infantry, with one hundred and thirty men. The attacking force consisted of two ships and two brigs, under the command of Captain



Attack on Fort Bowyer.

Percy. They arrived off Mobile Point on the 15th of September, and commenced a heavy cannonade. Three hundred British and Indians were landed, who erected a battery in the rear of the fort; but they were driven off by the fire of the garrison. The cannonading continued during the day with great fury, the British suffering much from the fire of the fort. At evening one ship and the brigs abandoned their position. The *Hermes*, the commodore's ship, had her cable carried away, and drifted upon the shoals, where she was exposed to the whole fire of the fort. Her removal being impossible, her crew set fire to her, and went on board the other vessels. The *Hermes* soon blew up, and, on the next day, the squadron returned to Pensacola. This repulse produced great chagrin and disappointment among the British, who had confidently

expected to capture the fort. That object attained, Mobile would have been in their power, and an effectual diversion made in favour of the army destined to operate against New Orleans. The result of the attempt destroyed these brilliant expectations, and inspired the American soldiers with that confidence in themselves so indispensable to success. The fears which many had entertained of the prowess of the so-called invincible heroes of the Peninsula, gave place to an enthusiastic desire to meet and beat them in the field. The loss of the British in this attack was two hundred and thirty-two men killed and wounded; that of the Americans was four killed and four wounded.

“On the 17th General Jackson wrote a complimentary letter to Major Lawrence, expressive of the joy he felt on hearing of the glorious defence made by the garrison under his command, and acquainting him that he had despatched information of it to the general government, who would not fail duly to reward the brave defenders of the rights and honour of the American people.”*

On the 21st of September Jackson issued the following proclamation to the people of Louisiana:—

“Louisianians! The base, the perfidious Britons have attempted to invade your country—they had the temerity to attack Fort Bowyer with their incongruous horde of Indians and negro assassins—they seemed to have forgotten that this fort was defended by freemen—they were not long indulged in their error—the gallant Lawrence, with his little Spartan band, has

* Latour.

given them a lecture that will last for ages; he has taught them what men can do when fighting for their liberty, when contending against slaves. He has convinced Sir W. H. Percy that his companions in arms are not to be conquered by proclamations; that the strongest British bark is not invulnerable to the force of American artillery, directed by the steady, nervous arm of a freeman.

“Louisianians! The proud Briton, the natural and sworn enemy of all Frenchmen, has called upon you, by proclamation, to aid him in his tyranny, and to prostrate the holy temple of our liberty. Can Louisianians, can Frenchmen, can Americans, ever stoop to be the slaves or allies of Britain?

“The proud, vain-glorious boaster, Colonel Nicholls, when he addressed you, Louisianians and Kentuckians, had forgotten that you were the votaries of freedom, or he would never have pledged the honour of a British officer for the faithful performance of his promise, to lure you from your fidelity to the government of your choice. I ask you, Louisianians, can we place any confidence in the honour of men who have courted an alliance with pirates and robbers? Have not these noble Britons, these honourable men, Colonel Nicholls and the honourable Captain W. H. Percy, the true representatives of their royal master, done this? Have they not made offers to the pirates of Baratavia to join them and their holy cause? And have they not dared to insult you by calling on you to associate as brethren with them and this piratical banditti?

“Louisianians! The government of your choice is

engaged in a just and honourable contest for the security of your individual and her national rights—on you, a part of America, the only country on earth where every man enjoys freedom—where its blessings are alike extended to the poor and the rich—she calls to protect these rights from the invading usurpation of Britain; and she calls not in vain. I well know that every man whose soul beats high at the proud title of freeman; that every Louisianian, either by birth or adoption, will promptly obey the voice of his country, will rally round the eagle of Columbia, secure it from the pending danger, or nobly die in the last ditch in its defence.

“The individual who refuses to defend his rights, when called upon by his government, deserves to be a slave, and must be punished as an enemy to his country, and a friend to her foe.

“The undersigned has been intrusted with the defence of your country—on you he relies to aid him in this important duty; in this reliance he hopes not to be mistaken. He trusts in the justice of his cause and the patriotism of his countrymen—confident that any further attempt to invade our soil will be repelled as the last, he calls not on either pirates or robbers to join him in the glorious cause.

“Your governor has been fully authorized to organize any volunteer company, battalion, or regiment which may proffer its services under this call, and is informed of their probable destination.”

The expected reinforcements from Tennessee having arrived about the middle of October, General Jackson determined to proceed immediately against

Pensacola. Jackson and his government had ever viewed this expedition in very different lights: they were not willing to risk a contest with Spain, for the sake of removing what they considered an inconsiderable injury: he thought it of more serious import, and did not believe it could afford even a pretext for rupture between the two nations. If Spain through her agents permitted and encouraged a power with whom she was at peace to be thus harassed and annoyed, she deserved to be placed in the list of enemies, and treated accordingly. If, however, Great Britain, taking advantage of the defenceless state of her province, claimed free egress in exclusion of her authority, she could have no well-founded cause of complaint against the injured power, which should hold it until such time as by bringing a sufficient force she might be in a situation to support her neutrality, and enforce obedience to her laws. Upon either ground he believed it might be sufficiently justified. There was one, however, on which it could be placed, where he well knew nothing could result beyond his own injury; and on this issue he was willing to trust it. If any complaint should be made, his government having never extended to him an authority, might with propriety disavow the act; and by exposing him to censure and punishment, it would be an atonement for the outrage, and Spain in justice could demand no more. The attack on Fort Bowyer was a confirmation of his previous conjectures as to the views of the enemy; and from that moment he determined to advance against and reduce Pensacola, throw a sufficient force into the Barrancas, hold it until the principles of right and neutrality were

better respected, and rest the measure on his own responsibility. Believing this to be the only course that could assure ultimate security, he had awaited only the arrival of General Coffee to execute his intentions.

On the 26th of October, he visited Coffee's camp, above Fort St. Stephen's, and concerted the plan of action. Coffee's brigade had been strengthened by accessions received during the march, augmenting his numbers to twenty-eight hundred men. The scarcity of forage on the route to Pensacola rendered it necessary for the forces to proceed thither on foot. One thousand men from Coffee's brigade were accordingly dismounted, and being united with the regular forces, the Mississippi dragoons, and a small party of Choctaw Indians, formed an army of about three thousand men. On the 2d of November, Jackson commenced his march, and arrived before Pensacola on the 6th, without having met with any opposition. The town and forts were found to be prepared for defence; the former was defended by batteries erected in the streets, and the broadsides of the British fleet, which commanded the principal entrance. Wishing to avoid violence, if possible, Jackson sent Major Pierre, of the forty-fourth regiment, under the protection of a flag, to communicate with the governor, and ascertain whether that functionary was willing to make the necessary reparation for his treacherous conduct, by surrendering the refugees, and compelling the British to quit his territory. He was also directed to require the surrender of the town and forts, to be held by the United States until Spain should be able to preserve her neutrality.

On approaching Fort St. Michael, on the walls of which floated the standard of Spain, he was fired at by the garrison, and compelled to retire, without accomplishing his object. This outrage was sufficient to have justified General Jackson in taking the most violent measures to obtain redress : but he resolved to make one more effort to settle the matter amicably. He wrote a letter to the governor, demanding the reason of the insult offered to his flag, and inviting him to open a negotiation. This he sent by a Spanish corporal, who had fallen into his hands on the previous day. The governor replied that the act of firing upon the flag had been committed by the British, against his wishes ; and that he would willingly adjust the differences by pacific means. Jackson accordingly repeated his demand for the surrender of the forts, engaging to restore them to the Spanish authorities as soon as they should be sufficiently powerful to protect themselves against the aggressions of the British. In his communication to the governor he remarked—

“I come not as the enemy of Spain ; not to make war, but to ask for peace ; to demand security for my country, and that respect to which she is entitled and shall receive. My force is sufficient, and my determination taken, to prevent a future repetition of the injuries she has received. I demand, therefore, the possession of the Barrancas, and other fortifications, with all your munitions of war. If delivered peaceably, the whole shall be receipted for, and become the subject of future arrangement, by our respective governments ; while the property, laws, and religion of your citizens will be respected. But if taken by an appeal to arms,

let the blood of your subjects be upon your own head. I will not hold myself responsible for the conduct of my enraged soldiers. One hour is given you for deliberation, when your determination must be had."

The governor summoned his officers to consider the demands of the American general, and they were declared inadmissible. Jackson then prepared to execute his threat. At an early hour on the morning of the 7th of November he put his army in motion, and proceeded towards the town. The British and Spaniards expected that his approach would be made upon the main road, and the guns of the squadron were accordingly brought to bear upon that entrance. To keep up this persuasion, five hundred mounted men were ordered to proceed along the road, appearing to be the advance of the army, while General Jackson with the main body made a partial circuit and approached on the beach at the east side. The advance was composed of one company of the third regiment, led by Captain Laval. The remainder of the regular troops formed the centre; on the right were the Mississippi dragoons and Choctaws, on the left Coffee's mounted and dismounted volunteers. The troops entered the town at a quick pace, and proceeded along the street, where they found a battery defended by Spanish soldiers. Captain Laval was severely wounded by the enemy's fire, which proceeded from the battery, the houses, fences, and every point which afforded any protection. Notwithstanding his fall, his company rushed forward, carried the battery, and drove the Spanish troops from all their positions. The governor, terrified at the defeat of his troops, came forward with

a flag of truce, and offered to comply with the demands of Jackson without further resistance. The firing was accordingly stopped, on condition that the forts should be immediately surrendered. But when the American officers demanded possession of Fort St. Michael, they were refused, and the guns of the fort discharged, wounding two men. Enraged at this treachery, Jackson ordered the place to be stormed, and the garrison put to the sword ; when the Spaniards, perceiving the impossibility of successful resistance, surrendered.

The Barrancas, commanding the entrance to the harbour, being situated six miles from the town, and night having nearly closed in, it was determined to defer taking possession of it until the next morning. Early in the morning the men were drawn out for the purpose of proceeding to the fort, when three loud reports told the unfortunate consequences of the delay. Foreseeing that the capture of the post was inevitable, the British had prevailed upon the garrison to destroy it, that the Americans might not be able to impede the escape of the squadron from the harbour.

Major Gales, who was sent with two hundred men to ascertain the extent of the damage, found the fortifications destroyed, and all the guns but two spiked. The British had all retreated to their ships and left the harbour, and the hostile Indians dispersed at the approach of the American forces.

The destruction of the Barrancas made a considerable change in the plans of General Jackson. The importance of Pensacola as a rendezvous to the British was very much diminished by this event, and the loss





BLOWING UP OF THE BARRANCAS.



Retreat of the British from Pensacola on the approach of Jackson.

of the principal means of defence rendered its maintenance by the Americans extremely hazardous. Other reasons combined to induce a change in the designs of the general. The Spaniards had been taught a lesson which would probably operate to restrain them from affording further assistance to the British: and the departure of the latter excited apprehensions that they might again return to Fort Bowyer, and make another attack upon that important, though weakly defended post. Jackson therefore resolved to evacuate Pensacola, and take a position whence he would be able to strike a blow at the enemy, whenever occasion should offer. On the 9th of November, he restored the town and forts to the Spaniards, and took up the line of march for Mobile. The loss



Landing of Creeks.

suffered by the American forces in the expedition against Pensacola was astonishingly small. Not a man was killed, and but fifteen or twenty wounded. Among the latter were Captain Laval, and Lieutenant Flournoy, who lost one of his legs by the fire of the Spanish battery. Captain Laval was left at Pensacola, where he received every attention from the governor.

The hostile Creeks, who had assembled in considerable numbers at Pensacola, and who had dispersed at the appearance of General Jackson, had chiefly taken refuge on board of the British fleet, which conveyed them to the Apalachicola river, where they were landed, and furnished with the means of defence. Jackson, aware of the importance of destroying their strength before they were able to commit any further ravages upon the Americans, sent Major Blue, of the thirty-ninth regiment, at the head of one thousand mounted men, to demolish their towns, and effectually

break their organization. This service being performed, he was ordered to return to Mobile.

To the capture of Pensacola by Jackson, "we find a corresponding measure in the history of his great contemporary in arms, the emperor of the French. At Toulon, Napoleon Buonaparte, who was then only a lieutenant of artillery, assumed the authority of acting against orders proclaimed by his superiors, and which, in his own language, had he failed 'would have forfeited his head.' Although General Jackson did not disobey orders, as was the fact with Buonaparte, still he entered a neutral town, relying on his knowledge that Pensacola had forfeited all the rights of neutrality; and in this he risked his fame and reputation, if not his life. In the two cases there is a parallel, which shows that a truly great mind is not narrowed down and confined to those limits which the law in all its potency is pleased to circumscribe. There are times when the necessity of the crisis (of which a commanding general should judge) sweeps away the barriers which the law has established for ordinary life, as though they were but cobwebs in the place of legal fetters; and there are times, too, when the conduct of a commander could not be sustained unless he violated the law. The cases of Toulon and Pensacola are in point; and although the responsibility be great, still the stretch of mind and the depth of intellect must fathom it." *

* Wright's Eulogy.



Jackson in 1815, from a portrait by Sully.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW ORLEANS—BATTLE OF THE TWENTY-THIRD OF DECEMBER.



THE general peace which had been concluded among the powers of Europe in April, 1814, and which had resulted in consigning Napoleon to Elba, enabled England to concentrate her whole military and naval power upon our shores. In addition to the warlike movements on our northern and western frontiers, the whole line of our seaboard was invaded at various

points, from the Passamaquoddy to the Mississippi. Baltimore was attacked—Havre de Grace was burned—Alexandria was pillaged, and our National Capitol itself was destroyed! The Senate Chamber and the Hall of Representatives—the President's House and the buildings for the heads of departments—the library of the nation and the records of the government—the works of science and the labours of art—were all involved in one general conflagration by the torch of the invading foe! And the disciplined Vandals of Europe, who had perpetrated these outrages, together with an immense swarm from the same hive, by the way of the West Indies, were advancing upon New Orleans, with a watchword that proclaimed to a brutal soldiery that the wealth of the city, and the wives and daughters of its inhabitants, should be given up to the ravaging cupidity and despoiling lust of the victors.*

General Jackson was at first uncertain with respect to the operations of the enemy; but he soon saw that the city of New Orleans, from its wealth, its important position, its exposed situation, and the reported disaffection of a large part of its population, would be selected as the point of attack. Information received by the general during the progress of the operations in Florida, had represented the West Indian armament to be in a state of forwardness which indicated an early movement. As soon, therefore, as he had provided for the security of Mobile, he determined to proceed to the capital of Louisiana. The fact that there was no general officer in the United States ser-

* Lewis's Eulogy.

vice in his district to whom he could commit the command of the eastern portion of it, delayed his journey for a time. On the 22d of November, however, Brigadier-General Winchester arrived in the Alabama, and Jackson started for New Orleans. General Coffee, and Colonel Hinds of the Mississippi dragoons, were ordered to proceed to a point near to the city, where they could be ready to march to its defence at the shortest notice. On the 1st of December General Jackson arrived in the city, which he found wholly unprepared for defence, and many of its inhabitants, including not a few high in office, disinclined to assist him in his efforts to protect it. Fortunately, in Governor Claiborne, the executive of Louisiana, Jackson possessed a devoted and efficient auxiliary, who immediately entered upon his arduous task with a determination that want of success should not be owing to any dereliction on his part.

The attention of the general had been directed to the condition of New Orleans ever since his appointment to the command of the military district in which it was situated. The difficulties which presented themselves to the successful defence of this important point, would have filled with despair a mind less vigorous and self-confident. The principal of these were, the disaffection which was too rife among the population, the facility of access to the city, and the absence of sufficient forces to defend it. Louisiana, at the time of its purchase by the United States, only three years previously, was peopled almost exclusively by Frenchmen and their descendants. A much smaller number of Spaniards, and a very few of English or

American descent, completed the number. After it became a member of the American union, the Anglo-American population became more numerous ; but at the time of which we speak, they were far inferior in number to the French. Besides the classes we have enumerated, there were very many foreigners of other nations, among whom were numerous subjects of the British crown, whom the desire of gain had drawn thither. But a small portion of the whole number of inhabitants had been born on the soil ; and it could scarcely be expected that those whose first breath had been drawn in foreign lands, whose every association was repugnant to American habits, and whose prejudices were against the peculiar institutions of the country in which they lived, would be willing to peril their lives in support of them. But the disaffection of many of the inhabitants of Louisiana was not merely a vision of the imagination. Facts which could not be misunderstood came to the knowledge of General Jackson, proving that there were many in the state who would not only refuse to aid in its defence, but would even be willing to aid the enemy that threatened it with all the horrors of a hostile invasion. It was by this class that information was constantly conveyed to the British of the movements, and, as far as was possible, of the intentions of the American general. To prevent this, Jackson at an early period prohibited all communication between Pensacola and New Orleans ; but he was never able to prevent the enemy from receiving accurate intelligence of every event of importance which transpired in the city or camp.

It must not be supposed from these remarks that the French inhabitants of Louisiana refused to respond to the call of the country in the hour of her peril. The great body of that class, which comprised the oldest and wealthiest families in the state, entered warmly into the measures taken by the military and civil authorities to preserve the integrity of their territory.

On the 15th of September, shortly after the hostile designs of the British government upon Louisiana became known, a meeting of the citizens of New Orleans was held, who resolved to support to the extent of their ability the authority of the government, and the honour of the American arms. A committee of safety was appointed to co-operate with and assist the governor in the execution of such measures as might be deemed expedient for the defence of the city. This committee addressed their fellow-citizens in the following patriotic strain :

“Fellow-Citizens ! Named by a numerous assembly of the citizens of New Orleans to aid the constituted authorities in devising the most certain means of guarding against the dangers which threatened you, our first duty is to apprise you of the extent of those dangers. Your open enemy is attacking you from without, and by means of his vile agents dispersed through the country, endeavours to excite to insurrection a more cruel and dangerous one in the midst of you.

“Fellow-Citizens ! The most perfect union is necessary among all the individuals which compose our community ; all have an equal interest in yielding a full and free obedience to their magistrates and officers,

and in forwarding their views for the public good—all have not only their property, but their very existence at stake; you have, through your representatives in the convention, contracted the solemn obligation of becoming an integral part of the United States of America; by this measure you secured your own sovereignty, and acquired the invaluable blessing of independence. God forbid that we should believe that there are any among us disposed to fail in the sacred duties required by fidelity and honour. A just idea of the geographical situation of your country will convince you that your safety, and in a greater degree your prosperity, depends on your being irrevocably and faithfully attached to a union with the other states; but if there exist among you men base and mad enough to undervalue their duties and their true interest—let them tremble on considering the dreadful evils they will bring down upon themselves and upon us, if by their criminal indifference they favour the enterprises of the enemy against our beloved country.

“Fellow-citizens! The navigation of the Mississippi is as necessary to two millions of our western brethren, as the blood is to the pulsation of the heart—those brave men closely attached to the union, will never suffer, whatever seducing offers may be made to them—they will never suffer the state of Louisiana to be subject to a foreign power; and should the events of war enable the enemy to occupy it, they will make every sacrifice to recover a country so necessary to their existence. A war ruinous to you would be the consequence; the enemy to whom you would have had the weakness to yield, would subject you to a military

despotism, of all others the most dreadful ; your estates, your slaves, your persons would be put in requisition, and you would be forced at the point of the bayonet to fight against those very men whom you have voluntarily chosen for fellow-citizens and brethren. Beloved countrymen : listen to the men honoured by your confidence, and who will endeavour to merit it ; listen to the voice of honour, of duty, and of nature ; unite ! form one body, one soul, and defend to the last extremity your sovereignty, your property—defend your own lives, and the dearer existence of your wives and children.”

Notwithstanding this appeal from some of the oldest and most influential citizens ; notwithstanding every exertion of the governor ; a large part of the population refused to enter the ranks, or contribute in any way to the defence of the state. Governor Claiborne, with whom Jackson maintained a constant correspondence, saw clearly the extent of the evil, and used all his influence to engage his fellow-citizens on the side of their country. On the 8th of September, previous to the meeting which we have mentioned, he issued a general order, directing the military companies of the city to be mustered for inspection and exercise twice, and those in the country at least once in each week. Having recapitulated the evident indications of an invasion, he exhorted every citizen to be prepared and determined at all times and at every hazard to do his duty. The militia were particularly enjoined to look to the condition of their arms, and to provide themselves with ammunition and the necessary camp clothing ; and all were ordered to communicate to

their superior officers every information concerning the movements or designs of foreign or domestic enemies. "The intrigues," proceeded the order, "the means of corruption by which in other countries our enemy has so much profited, will doubtless be attempted here. But his character is well understood, and it is hoped that his arts will not avail him. In defence of our homes and families there surely will be but one opinion—one sentiment. The American citizen, on contrasting his situation with that of the citizen or subject of any other country on earth, will see abundant cause to be content with his destiny. He must be aware how little he can gain and how much he must lose by a revolution or a change of government."

The drafts which were made upon the militia were very scantily supplied; many individuals refusing to serve after having been drafted. Many Frenchmen, having given their adhesion to Louis XVIII., refused to comply with the requisitions of the governor, and claimed the protection of the French consul. Notwithstanding these defections, however, there still remained a number of loyal citizens, who obeyed with alacrity the call of the governor, and enrolled themselves in military companies. The free men of colour, a numerous class in New Orleans, the greater part of whom were natives of St. Domingo, manifested a warm attachment to their adopted country. Being informed of the favourable dispositions of this class, General Jackson issued a proclamation on the 21st of September, calling upon them, as sons of freedom, to defend this, their most inestimable blessing. "As Ameri-

cans," he continues, "your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence." * * * "Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen." A battalion was formed pursuant to this proclamation, and placed under the command of Major Daquin, a highly respectable citizen of New Orleans. This corps formed an efficient part of General Jackson's army, and distinguished itself highly in the actions of the 23d of December and 8th of January.

That the exposed situation of New Orleans may be rendered perfectly intelligible, we will give a short description of the geography of the city and vicinity. New Orleans is built upon a low piece of ground, on the north side of the river Mississippi, about one hundred miles from its mouth. The course of the river below New Orleans is nearly southeast, flowing through a low country, much of which is swampy and covered with cypress trees. Notwithstanding its distance from the mouth of the river, New Orleans is far from being an inland town, being approached within thirteen miles on the eastward by an arm of the sea called Lake Borgne. This lake is of consi-

derable extent, but too shallow to permit the entrance of large vessels. To the northwest of Lake Borgne, and communicating with it, is Lake Pontchartrain, which extends some distance beyond the city. These lakes are connected by a narrow passage about four miles long, called the Chef-Menteur. The narrowest part of this passage was defended by the fort of Petites Coquilles. Near the western extremity of Lake Borgne it is joined by a small river, called the Bayou Bienvenu, which drains the basin immediately below the city. This bayou communicated with a canal passing through the plantation of Major-General Villere to the Mississippi. Stretching from the entrance of Lake Borgne to the opening of Mobile bay, is a chain of small islands. The westernmost of these is called Cat Island. Ship Island, Dog Island, the Isle a Corne, and Dauphine Island, are the principal in the chain. The latter is situated near the mouth of Mobile bay, and was the rendezvous of the British after the campaign against New Orleans.

The geographical situation of the city thus offered two avenues for the approach of an enemy: the river Mississippi, and the lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain. For the defence of the river a fort had been erected by the French at the Balize; but it had long since fallen into ruins. At the Detour Plaquemines, sixty miles below the city, was a work called Fort St. Philip, which was wholly insufficient for the defence of the stream; but which might with little labour be rendered almost impassable to a hostile armament. On the right bank of the river, opposite Fort St. Philip, there had formerly been a fortification named Fort Bourbon;

but it also was in ruins. Before the departure of General Jackson from Mobile, he had directed Colonel Hayne, the inspector-general, to ascertain the state of the river defences, and where effectual resistance could be made. The colonel reported that the re-establishment of the post at the Balize would be useless, as it would not command the river sufficiently to prevent the passage of an enemy's fleet; but that Fort St. Philip afforded every facility for defence. It was situated in a bend of the river, commanding the channel for a considerable distance below. The turn of the stream forms a point of land below the fort, on the opposite side, which being covered with timber, would mask an approaching vessel. This wood was ordered to be cut down, that the fire of the fort might range across the point. At the site of Fort Bourbon a battery was commenced which would place an ascending force between two fires. Other batteries were to be constructed on the same side as St. Philip, but considerably above; and by these different works the river would be commanded for nearly two miles. Should a hostile force succeed in passing Fort St. Philip, it was believed that it could be stopped at the English turn, about twelve miles below the city. The bend of the river here was even greater than at Plaquemines, and was also strongly fortified.

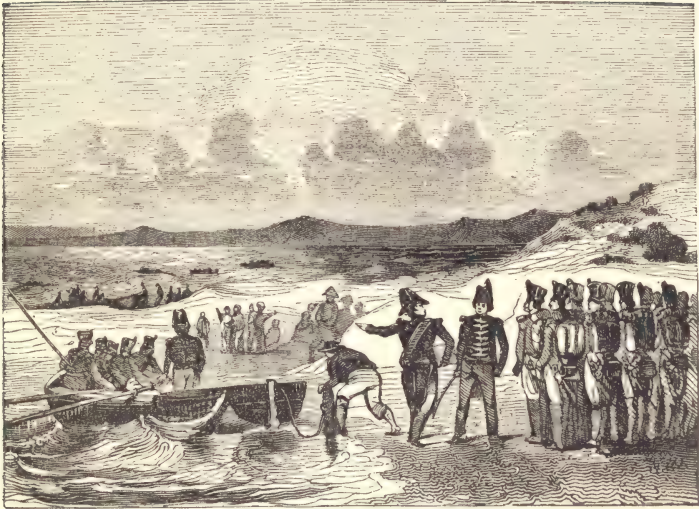
Unfortunately, the defences of the other great avenue of approach were far less adequate to the purpose for which they were required. The passage between the lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain was, as has been stated, defended by a battery at Petites Coquilles: and it was supposed to be sufficiently strong to repel

any attack which could be made upon it. But the entrance to Lake Borgne, impassable indeed to large vessels, but readily accessible to those of light draught, was secured only by five gun-boats. This force, however, was supposed to be capable of repulsing an attack by boats, in which alone the enemy would be able to reach them. To render the approach by Lake Borgne more difficult, numerous parties of militia were sent out to cut down trees, and throw them across the small bayous which might afford a landing-place, and to obstruct as much as possible, every channel by which the enemy might reach the land. It was generally expected that they would attempt to reach the city by the Mississippi river; but if they should take the other route, the general believed that the defences were sufficiently strong to keep them at bay.

But by far the greatest difficulty which presented itself to the American general was the want of sufficient military force. The army which he had brought from Mobile consisted only of Coffee's Tennessee volunteers, Hinds' company of cavalry, and the 7th and 44th regiments, amounting to about fifteen hundred men. The city volunteers added three hundred, and the battalion of men of colour, two hundred; making a total, with the troops in garrison at Fort St. Philip, of only two thousand five hundred men. This force all saw to be wholly incompetent to the defence of a city so exposed against a veteran army of many times its number, aided by the powerful naval force which the British had assembled in the West Indies for this expedition. To remedy the deficiency, General Jackson made every effort, in which he was nobly

seconded by the executives of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana. By a circular letter of the secretary of war, dated July 4th, 1814, directing the governors of the several states to hold in readiness their quotas of an army of ninety-three thousand five hundred men, Kentucky was directed to raise five thousand five hundred, Tennessee two thousand five hundred, and Louisiana one thousand. On the 6th of August, in pursuance of this letter, Governor Claiborne of Louisiana issued a general order, apportioning the quota assigned to the state between the two divisions of militia; and he subsequently exerted himself actively to fill the ranks. The number required, however, was never obtained; the whole number of Louisianians in the army of General Jackson being less than nine hundred.

The venerable and patriotic Shelby, governor of Kentucky, responded to the orders of the secretary, and the urgent requests of Jackson, by immediately organizing his quota of men, under the command of Major-General Thomas. The quarter-master's department being unable to furnish the supplies necessary for the men, several private individuals contributed from their own property sufficient funds to enable the detachment to commence its progress down the Ohio river. Unfortunately, the most strenuous endeavours could not obtain arms sufficient for the division. Owing to the drain caused by the northern campaigns, firearms of all descriptions were exceedingly scarce in Kentucky; and many of the men were obliged to proceed without arms, in the hope that they would be able to procure them on their arrival at the camp.



Embarkation of the Tennessee troops.

Major-General Carroll, whose gallantry we have before had occasion to notice, was appointed to the command of the force to be drawn from Tennessee. On the 19th of December, his division rendezvoused at Nashville; and on the 27th, the last of them embarked for New Orleans. On the voyage down the Mississippi, Carroll seized every opportunity to instruct his men in military evolutions, and render them familiar with the manœuvres of the field. In this manner, they improved considerably in military knowledge, and became used to concert of action. They were still, however, far from being equal to the veteran soldiers which the enemy was about to bring against them.

On the day of his arrival at New Orleans, General



Jackson descending the Mississippi to examine the fortifications.

Jackson reviewed the city battalion of volunteer companies, whose good appearance and skill in military evolutions gave him great satisfaction. His appearance re-animated the spirits of the patriotic citizens, who had begun to despair of success. The fame of his victories in the west had reached their ears, and his known firmness and acknowledged military skill filled them with hope and confidence. The effect of this change was seen in the increased activity with which the warlike preparations were carried on, the accessions to the ranks of the militia and volunteers, and the cheerful air which every countenance wore after his arrival. He immediately entered upon the

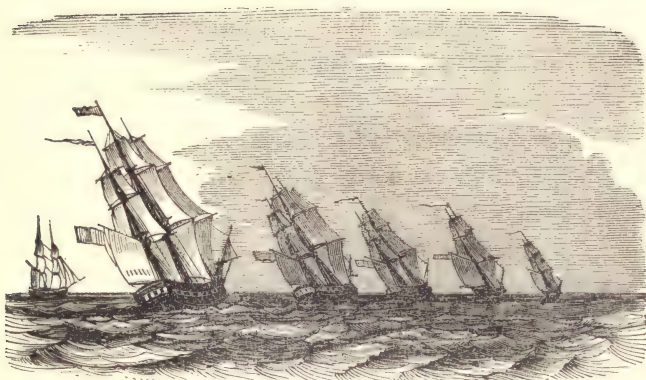


Fortifying of New Orleans.

arduous task of preparing to meet an enemy whose force was known to be greatly superior, and whose troops were flushed with recent victory over the bravest soldiers of Europe. Two days after reaching the city, he proceeded down the Mississippi, to examine in person the fortifications upon which its defence depended. He ordered several additional pieces of cannon to be mounted in Fort St. Philip, and directed that the batteries by which it was to be flanked should be immediately constructed. Having taken the necessary measures for executing his plans, he returned to New Orleans on the 9th of December, and proceeded at once on a similar tour of inspection to the lakes. Having ordered the erection of a battery at the confluence of the river Chef-Mentour and

the Bayou Sauvage, he returned to the city. He communicated to the governor the measures he had taken for the defence of the river, and invited the co-operation of the members of the legislature, to complete the fortifications as soon as possible. For this purpose he suggested that the planters should furnish negro labourers, without compensation: the security of their slaves depending entirely upon the success of the defenders of the country. Pursuant to this recommendation, the legislature authorized Governor Claiborne to call into the public service the negroes of the parishes of Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Charles, and St. John Baptist, and to employ them upon the fortifications of the river.

The naval forces stationed at New Orleans, consisting of six gun-boats and several small vessels, were commanded by Commodore Daniel T. Patterson. Five gun-boats and two tenders were stationed upon the lakes, under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Ap-Catesby Jones. Early in December Commodore Patterson received an anonymous communication, dated at Pensacola, December 5th, informing him of the presence of a large British fleet, numbering about eighty vessels, off that port; and stating that a much greater number were momentarily expected. On the arrival of the remainder of the armament, offensive operations were to be commenced immediately against New Orleans. On receiving this intelligence, Lieutenant Jones was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy, and retreat at his approach to the Rigolets, where he was to defend himself to the last extremity. The lieutenant detached gun-boats Nos. 23 and 163, com-



British fleet off Pensacola.

manded by Lieutenant M'Keever and Sailing-Master Ulrick, to Dauphine Island. On the 9th of December these officers discovered two of the enemy's vessels at sea, steering westward towards the entrance of Lake Borgne. The gun-boats immediately made sail, and kept on the same course as the enemy, under shelter of the island, until nightfall. The enemy's vessels having anchored, the gun-boats rejoined the flotilla. Apprehending a night attack, the vessels were kept under sail all night. When day broke, a numerous fleet was seen at anchor between Cat and Ship islands.

The flotilla then proceeded to the pass Mariana, where it anchored. The following day was occupied in putting the gun-boats in the best condition for defence; and on the 12th the enemy were reconnoitred from the eastern extremity of Cat Island. The hostile force was discovered to be considerably increased since its first appearance; and on the 13th Lieutenant Jones

deemed it prudent to retire to the bay of St. Louis. At ten A. M., a large flotilla of barges was discovered making for the pass Christiana. This was supposed to be a debarkation of troops; but the barges continuing their course to the westward after gaining the pass Christiana, Lieutenant Jones was convinced that they intended to attack him. He attempted to make sail; but found the depth of water, owing to the long continuance of westerly winds, and the lowness of the tide, insufficient to float a part of his squadron. After great exertions, the tide having begun to rise, he succeeded in getting under weigh, and made sail for Petites Coquilles.

At a quarter before four P. M. the enemy sent seven barges to cut out the Seahorse, which had been sent into the bay of St. Louis to remove some public stores deposited there. The barges were repulsed with loss: but Mr. Johnson, who commanded the Seahorse, knowing his inability to defend her against the whole force of the enemy, and prevented by them from rejoining the gun-boats, blew up his vessel, and set fire to the public property on shore. The gun-boats proceeded until one A. M. on the 14th, when the wind died away, and they were obliged to anchor in the western extremity of the passage behind Malheureux Island. The dawn of day disclosed the enemy at anchor about nine miles distant. They soon advanced towards the gun-boats, which were prevented by the perfect calm and a strong counter current from retreating. Unable to avoid an action, Lieutenant Jones made his dispositions very judiciously. The vessels



Blowing up of the Seahorse.

were anchored by the stern, with springs upon their cables, in a line across the passage.

Having captured the tender *Alligator*, with one four-pounder and eight men, the enemy continued to advance until they were just out of gun-shot, when they came to, for a short time, to allow their men to get their breakfasts. At half-past ten, they again came on. Unfortunately, gun-boats 156 and 163 had been forced from their anchorage by the current, and drifted one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the line. The squadron fired upon the enemy as they advanced, and at ten minutes before eleven they returned the fire from their whole line. The contest now became spirited and obstinate. Repeated attempts were made to board No. 156, which were as often beaten off, until Lieutenant Jones being severely wounded, and nearly all his crew disabled, at ten minutes past twelve, superior numbers prevailed, and

the British succeeded in gaining her deck. Her guns were immediately turned upon the remaining vessels, which were carried, but not till many of the enemy's boats were sunk, and a great number of officers and men killed and wounded. At twenty minutes before one P. M., the battle ended by the surrender of No. 23.

The conduct of the Americans in this engagement well deserved the high commendation which the nation lavished upon the brave men who composed their force. Against an immense superiority of numbers and force, unable to manœuvre their vessels, and exposed to a severe fire, they maintained the contest for more than two hours, and only surrendered when the enemy had gained their decks, and overpowered them by numbers. The whole number of guns in the five American vessels was 23, and of men one hundred and eighty-three. The British force consisted of twelve hundred men, in forty-five boats, mounting 43 pieces of cannon. They lost several boats sunk, and at least three hundred men, including many officers, killed or wounded; while the American loss in men was but six killed and thirty-five wounded. Lieutenants Jones, M'Keever and Pedder, and Sailing-Master Parker, were all severely wounded before their flags were struck.

When the intelligence of the capture of the gun-boats was communicated to General Jackson, it caused him to feel great anxiety for the safety of Mobile. The importance of this post as the key to the Indian territory was very great, and Jackson had done all that his circumstances allowed to secure it against any attack of the British. Upon the gun-boats he

had relied principally for the protection of the channels by which the rear of Fort Bowyer might be gained; and their loss, and the consequent increase of the available force of the enemy, caused much chagrin. He immediately informed General Winchester, at Mobile, of the event, and ordered him to defend Mobile Point at all hazards; impressing upon his mind, at the same time, the immense injury which would accrue to the American arms by its loss.

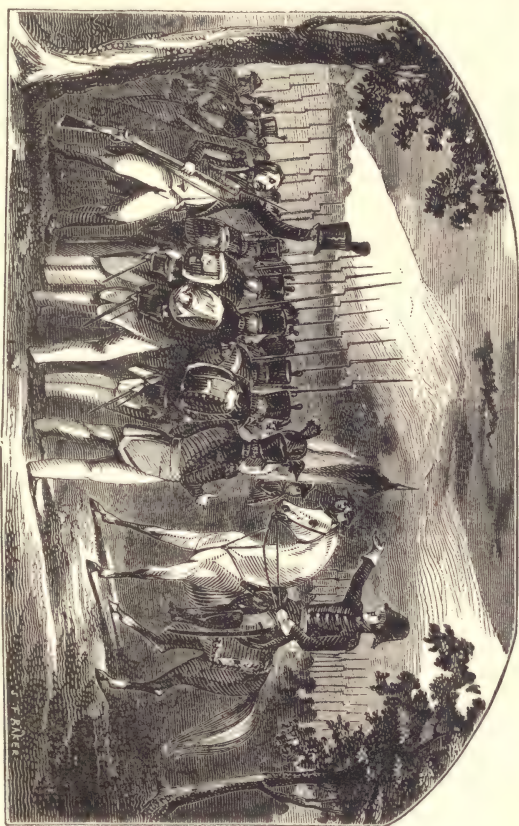
Commodore Patterson, after officially informing the governor of the loss of the squadron, requested the legislature to take some steps to procure a sufficient number of sailors to man the vessels upon the river, intended for the defence of New Orleans. In compliance with his request, a law was passed by which six thousand dollars was appropriated for the purpose of giving bounties to sailors, to enlist in the United States service. In this manner, and by laying a temporary embargo upon the vessels in port, a sufficient number of seamen were obtained to man the ship *Louisiana*, and the schooner *Carolina*, which afterwards did great service.

On the 15th, perceiving that the British would probably succeed in landing, having entire command of Lake Borgne, General Jackson sent expresses to Generals Coffee, Carroll, and Thomas, to hasten their approach. General Coffee, who had been previously ordered to take a station whence he might without delay reach New Orleans, had advanced to Sandy Creek, near Baton Rouge. He arrived there, after a tedious and difficult march, about the 8th of December. Jackson ordered him to repair immediately to New

Orleans. On the 18th, the New Orleans and Louisiana volunteers and militia, who had been regularly mustered into the service of the United States, were reviewed by the general, on their respective parades. He addressed each corps in language calculated to arouse all their ardour and patriotism, and to fill them with a wish to meet the enemy.

“Fellow-citizens and soldiers!” said he to the militia, “the general commanding in chief would not do justice to the noble ardour that has animated you in the hour of danger, he would not do justice to his own feelings, if he suffered the example you have shown to pass without public notice. Inhabitants of an opulent commercial town, you have by a spontaneous effort shaken off the habits which are created by wealth, and shown that you are resolved to deserve the blessings of fortune by bravely defending them. Long strangers to the perils of war, you have embodied yourselves to face them with the cool countenance of veterans—and with motives of disunion that might operate on weak minds, you have forgotten the differences of language and prejudice of national pride, and united with a cordiality that does honour to your understandings as well as to your patriotism.

“Natives of the United States! They are the oppressors of your infant political existence with whom you are to contend—they are the men your fathers fought and conquered whom you are now to oppose. Descendants of Frenchmen! Natives of France! They are English; the hereditary, the eternal enemies of your ancient country, the invaders of that you have adopted, who are your foes. Spaniards! Remember





the conduct of your allies at St. Sebastian, and recently at Pensacola, and rejoice that you have an opportunity of avenging the brutal injuries inflicted by men who dishonour the human race. Louisianians! Your general rejoices to witness the spirit that animates you, not only for your honour, but your safety; for whatever had been your conduct or wishes, his duty would have led, and did lead him to confound the citizen unmindful of his rights, with the enemy he ceases to oppose. Commanding men who know their rights and are determined to defend them, he salutes you as brethren in arms, and has now a new motive to exert all his faculties, which shall be strained to the utmost in your defence. Continue with the energy you have begun, and he promises you not only safety, but victory over an insolent foe, who has insulted you by an affected doubt of your attachment to the constitution of your country. Your enemy is near; his sails already cover the lakes: but the brave are united; and if he find us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of valour, and fame, its noblest reward."

The battalion of men of colour he addressed thus: "Soldiers: From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils, and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you; for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity; and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most

dear to man—but you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds.”

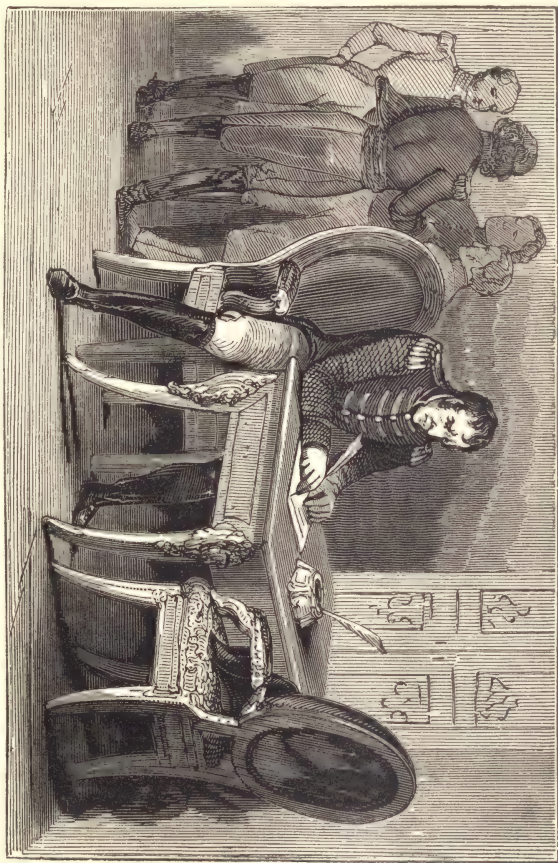
The moments were precious. Since his arrival in New Orleans, Jackson had not failed to make the most of his time. Never was a more wonderful activity displayed ; and never, within so short a period, was order seen to succeed to confusion, confidence to despondency. The resources which incapacity never finds—because it neither knows how to seek them where they already exist, nor to draw them forth where they may lie latent—discovered and created by the combined power of genius and perseverance, rose from all sides at the bidding of the will which summoned them. The Tennessee militia under General Carroll, the mounted riflemen commanded by General Coffee, both generals of militia, had at last arrived. The latter came in a single march from Baton Rouge to within two leagues of New Orleans, a distance of thirty leagues ! These troops had made the campaign against the Creeks, and had driven out the English from Pensacola. They were volunteers—men of family and substance. Patriotism had led them to the field ; honour alone kept them there ; for no law had summoned them. Jackson left them encamped only a few miles from the city. He did not wish these detachments to be counted ; it was a part of his policy to exaggerate his forces, to deceive the spies, and to impose upon the enemy. Besides, he did not wish, before the battles, to exhibit to a population accustomed to see no other soldiers than those equipped in military costume, these warriors of the west, with

their strange accoutrements and their peculiar discipline, suitable to their fashion of warfare, but so little in accordance with the regularity of permanent troops. Without, however, collecting his forces together, Jackson took care to distribute them in such a manner as to be readily able to bring them in a single mass upon New Orleans; and to attack the enemy with his whole assembled force immediately on his disembarkation.

The Legislature of the state were at this time in session. In order to prevent communications with the enemy, and the protection of spies and traitors, with whom the country was filled, Jackson applied to them to grant a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. After an animated discussion, the proposition was rejected. This determination to leave undisturbed this popular remedy, so noble in itself, but susceptible of so dangerous a use in the hands of feeble or disaffected magistrates, disturbed General Jackson. He looked on the presence of a deliberative assembly in a besieged city as dangerous; especially when that assembly had not been elected with a special charge to meet the crisis now existing or anticipated. It weakens the energy of power by dividing it. If events should take an unfavourable direction, it would serve as a means of action to the evil-disposed. The demagogues of disorder would make use of it as a pedestal on which to raise themselves, and to scatter from a higher elevation over the people at large the puerile alarms which agitated them. While, if the issue hung long in suspense, it would harass itself with the torture of an inactive expectation. Envy would take

possession of little minds, which would be annoyed to find no longer fixed on them the attention which the nation always extends to him who fights, in preference to him who merely speaks in its cause. Besides, the more manly portion of that assembly had felt the ridicule of the part they were there made to play. The more generous spirits were unwilling to remain in seats of inglorious security, while Jackson was holding open the lists to all who felt their hearts thrill to the sound of arms. Several senators, musket in hand, had taken their places in the ranks as privates ; others, who had served in Europe, took the command of the guns, or posts of inferior service in artillery. Such a division between the men of action and their colleagues could not but degrade the latter in the opinion of the public. Besides, this same legislature had before, at a moment of expected danger, supported the militia who refused to defend their country at the call of General Flournoy ; and now refusing to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, General Jackson, fearing that they might defeat the means which he saw necessary to the defence of the state and city, suspended their councils, on the 16th of December, by declaring the city and environs of New Orleans under martial law.

Every person entering the city was required immediately to report himself to the adjutant-general ; and on failing to do so, he was arrested and held for examination. None were to depart from it, or be suffered to pass beyond the chain of sentinels, but by permission from the commanding general, or one of the staff. Nor was any vessel or craft to be permitted



JACSON DECLARING MARTIAL LAW.

to sail on the river or the lakes, but by the same authority, or a passport signed by the commander of the naval forces. The lamps were to be extinguished at nine o'clock at night; after which time, all persons found in the streets or from their respective homes, without permission in writing, signed as above, were to be arrested as spies, and detained for examination.

At a crisis so important, and from a persuasion that the country in its menaced situation could not be saved by the exercise of any ordinary powers, he believed it best to adopt a course which would be efficient, even if it partially endangered the rights and privileges of the citizen. He proclaimed martial law, believing that necessity and policy required it, "under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care could by such a measure alone be saved from utter ruin, and from a religious belief that he was performing the most important and sacred duty. By it he intended to supersede such civil powers as in their operation interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought that at such a moment constitutional forms should be suspended for the preservation of constitutional rights; and that there could be no question whether it were better to depart for a moment from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or have them wrested from us for ever.

"In thus placing the defence of this measure upon the highest law of nature and of nations—that of overruling necessity in self-preservation, he stood upon impregnable ground, so far as principle was involved, whatever differences of opinion may exist with regard to the application of the principle, or the existence of

the dire necessity of resorting to a measure so extraordinary.”*

A few days after the declaration of martial law, “Judge Hall, by a writ of *habeas corpus*, undertook to interfere with a military arrest. Jackson forthwith ordered the intermeddling judge beyond his camp. On the return of peace the judge also returned, and resumed his judicial functions, summoning the general to appear and answer for this alleged contempt. Jackson appeared; and his counsel, when they would have argued his defence, were silenced by the judge, who proceeded to impose upon the general a fine of one thousand dollars. This act was most deeply resented by the people of New Orleans, who filled the court, and whose enthusiasm for the saviour of their city knew no bounds. But General Jackson restrained and rebuked their fervour, declaring his cheerful submission to the law, and giving them to understand that the same arm which had saved the city should be raised, if needful, to protect the court. The citizens, indignant at this act of judicial revenge, were nevertheless withheld from violence.”†

“The ladies of New Orleans raised the money to discharge the fine; but the general declined receiving it, and requested that it might be distributed among the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the battle.

“Jackson foresaw the day—too long delayed—but which came at last, when twenty millions of free-men, speaking through the national congress, should

* Lewis’s Eulogy.

† Bolles’s Eulogy.

vindicate the rectitude of his conduct, and declare to mankind that America does not willingly allow her valiant defenders to be fined and reproached for effecting their country's salvation."*

But to return from the defence of the general to the defence of the city. The gun-boats having been captured, and the enemy having entire command of the lakes, it was obvious to General Jackson that it would be useless to attempt to oppose his landing. He knew that success depended on a prompt defensive movement—his only hope rested on a successful attack to be made on the invading army the moment they landed. In answer to an express from General Carroll, whose division had been delayed on its way to New Orleans, he said, "I am resolved, feeble as my force is, to assail the enemy on his first landing, and perish sooner than he shall reach the city." This determination, thus nobly expressed, was promptly executed.

On the morning of the 23d of December, guided by some Spanish fishermen, the enemy effected a landing at the junction of the Bayou Bienvenu and Lake Borgne, and surprising the small guard posted there, hastened forward to the bank of the Mississippi, which they reached about nine miles below the city. There they were discovered about noon by Majors Tatum and Latour, who immediately reported their discovery to General Jackson. Resolving that night to meet the invaders, Jackson made every preparation to act. The signal guns were fired, and expresses

* Bolles's Eulogy.



Arrival of the British fleet.

sent forward to concentrate the forces. Although encamped four miles above, Generals Coffee and Carroll arrived in the city in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the 7th and 44th regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hinds' dragoons, constituted the strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy whose numbers at this time could only be conjectured. Uncertain of the enemy's movements, it was thought advisable to leave Carroll and his division, and Governor Claiborne with the state militia behind, to take post on the Gentilly road leading from Chef-Mentour to New Orleans, lest the landing below should be only a feint intended to conceal a real attack from the upper part of Lake Borgne.

Alarm pervaded the city. The marching and countermarching of the troops—the proximity of the enemy—with the approaching contest, and uncertainty of the issue, had excited a general fear. Colonel

Hayne, with two companies of riflemen and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward to harass and oppose the advance of the British. Everything being at last ready, General Jackson commenced his march to meet and fight the veteran troops of England.

An inconsiderable circumstance, at this moment, evinced the unlimited confidence which was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of innumerable females who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston to address them in the French language. "Say to them," said he, "not to be alarmed; the enemy shall never reach the city." The effect was electrical. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

Jackson arrived in view of the enemy a little before dark. Having formed a junction with Colonel Hayne, he learned from him the position of the invaders, and that their strength was about two thousand men.* A plan of attack was instantly concerted. Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval forces, with Captain Henly, on board the *Caroline*, was directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon

* This was really the strength of the British when Colonel Hayne saw them; but reinforcements continually arriving by the way of the Bayou Bienvenu, had at the beginning of the battle increased their number to three thousand.

them from the guns of the schooner ; which being the signal for attack, it was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The enemy's camp-fires disclosed his position, and showed his encampment, formed with the left resting on the river, and extending nearly at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hinds' dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and by a circuitous route avoid their pickets, and endeavour to turn their right wing ; having succeeded in this, he was instructed to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the *Caroline*. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, *Planché's* city volunteers, *Daquin's* coloured troops, and the artillery under Lieutenant *Spots*, supported by a company of marines commanded by Colonel *M'Kee*, advanced along the bank of the *Mississippi*, their right resting on the river, and were commanded by *Jackson* in person.

The astonishment, dismay, and confusion of the British, when attacked by the *Caroline*, cannot be better described than in the words of one of their own subalterns.*

“The day passed without any alarm ; and darkness having set in, the fires were made to blaze with increased splendour, our evening meal was eat, and we prepared to sleep. But about half-past seven o'clock the attention of several individuals was drawn to a large vessel, which seemed to be stealing up the river

* Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans.

till she came opposite to our camp; when her anchor was dropped and her sails leisurely furled. At first we were doubtful whether she might not be one of our own cruisers which had passed the port unobserved, and had arrived to render her assistance in our future operations. To satisfy this doubt, she was repeatedly hailed, but returned no answer; when an alarm spreading through the bivouac, all thought of sleep was laid aside. Several musket shots were now fired at her with the design of exacting a reply, of which no notice was taken; till at length, having fastened all her sails and swung her broadside towards us, we could distinctly hear some one cry out in a commanding voice, 'Give them this for the honour of America.' The words were instantly followed by the flashes of her guns, and a deadly shower of grape swept down numbers in the camp.

"Against this dreadful fire we had nothing whatever to oppose. The artillery which we had landed was too light to bring into competition with an adversary so powerful; and as she had anchored within a short distance of the opposite bank, no musketry could reach her with any precision or effect. A few rockets were discharged, which made a beautiful appearance in the air; but the rocket is an uncertain weapon; and these deviated too far from their object to produce even terror among those against whom they were directed. Under these circumstances, as nothing could be done offensively, our sole object was to shelter the men as much as possible from this iron hail. With this view they were commanded to leave

the fires, and to hasten under the dyke.* Thither all accordingly repaired, without much regard to order and regularity ; and laying ourselves along wherever we could find room, we listened in painful silence to the scattering of grape-shot among our huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those who lay wounded beside them.

“The night was now as dark as pitch, the moon being but young, and totally obscured with clouds. Our fires, deserted by us, and beat about by the enemy’s shot, began to burn red and dull ; and, except when the flashes of those guns which played upon us cast a momentary glare, not an object could be distinguished at the distance of a yard. In this state we lay for nearly an hour, unable to move from our ground, or offer any opposition to those who kept us there ; when a straggling fire of musketry called our attention towards the pickets, and warned us to prepare for a closer and more desperate strife. As yet, however, it was uncertain from what cause this dropping fire arose. It might proceed from the sentinels, who, alarmed by the cannonade from the river, mistook every tree for an American ; and till this should be more fully ascertained, it would be improper to expose the troops, by moving any of them from the shelter which the bank afforded. But these doubts were not permitted to continue long in existence. The dropping fire having paused for a few moments, was succeeded by a fearful yell, and the heavens were illu-

* Called by the Louisianians “levee,” an embankment formed along the river to confine it in its bed.

minated on all sides by a semicircular blaze of musketry. It was now clear that we were surrounded, and that by a very superior force ; and, therefore, no alternative remained, but either to surrender at discretion or to beat back the assailants."

This "very superior force" was Coffee's brigade of about six hundred dismounted riflemen, which the fears of the enemy, at this time three thousand strong, magnified into an army of thousands. The attack had been commenced somewhat prematurely by the Caroline ; otherwise the astonishment of the British would have been fatal. The levee would have afforded them no protection. Attacked on three sides at once, they would have been compelled to retreat before an inferior force or surrender at discretion. When General Coffee arrived at the edge of the ditch separating the plantations of Laronde and Lacoste, he ordered his men to dismount, and leaving one hundred men to guard the horses, pushed forward with the remainder, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line. At this instant the signal from the Caroline reached him ; he wheeled his columns into an extended line, according to the orders he had previously received, and moved towards the camp. He had scarcely advanced more than a hundred yards, when he was fired upon by the enemy in front. This to him was an unexpected occurrence, as he supposed the enemy to be lying principally on the bank of the river, and thought that the only opposition he would meet until he should reach the levee would be from the advanced guards. The circumstance of his coming up with them so soon, was in consequence of the

severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled them to abandon their camp, and take refuge behind the dyke. Coffee ordered his line to advance in silence, and to fire without order, but only when certain of their object. The line pressed on, and having gained a position in the rear of Lacoste's garden, and near enough to the enemy to distinguish them by the uncertain light of the moon, a brisk fire was commenced, which was the more destructive, as not a man discharged his rifle without doing execution. This continued shower of deadly bullets was too severe to be long withstood; the enemy gave way and retreated—they rallied, formed, were charged, and again retreated. The gallant Tennesseans, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove them from every position they attempted to maintain, until they reached the bank of the river. Here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted. For half an hour the contest was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground; but, at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind a strong bank, which afforded a breast-work, and protected them from the fatal fire of Coffee's riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their true position, was again about to order another charge, when one of his aids, who had advanced near enough to gain the information, assured him that such a course would be too hazardous; that they could be driven no further, and would from the point they occupied resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable

loss, any attempt to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered in front by a strong bank, which had been extended into the field to keep out the river, in consequence of the first being encroached upon and undermined in several places. The old one, however, was still entire in many parts, and gave them security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at a little distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer to the river, he might expose himself to the fire of the *Caroline*, which yet maintained the conflict with spirit, induced Coffee to retire, until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.

During the whole of this time, the detachment of cavalry under the command of Major Hinds, not being able to manœuvre in fields cut up with ditches at very close intervals, remained drawn up on the edge of a ditch, in the middle of Lacoste's plantation. Captain Beale's company of Orleans riflemen advanced on the left of Coffee's line until they were separated from them in the first charge. They then pushed forward into Villere's plantation, almost in the midst of the detachments of the enemy continually arriving from the boats. They were principally engaged with a corps near the old levee, which they forced to retreat. In the meantime, Coffee discovered that some of the British had posted themselves among the negro huts on his right. He immediately moved to the right, drove them from the huts, and took a position near the boundary of Laronde's plantation. Captain Beale's company having penetrated into the very camp of the enemy and made several prisoners,

pushed forward to the right, following Coffee's movement, with the intention of effecting a junction. Unfortunately, a party of them, owing to the darkness, fell among a large corps of the British, thinking them friends, and were made prisoners. The others, following the road to the right, soon joined General Coffee with several prisoners.

While the left wing was thus driving before them a superior force, the right wing under Jackson was not inactive. On hearing the signal from the Caroline, the whole line moved forward along the bank of the river, until they were stopped by a heavy fire from behind a fence immediately before them. This brought the enemy to view ; and Jackson ordered his line to advance, and not to waste their ammunition at random, but make every shot tell. A fog arising from the river, and the smoke from the guns, gradually diminished the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increased the darkness of the night. The enemy could only be discovered by the flash of their muskets. This left no alternative to the assailants but to move on in the direction of the fire, which subjected them to great disadvantages, and finally prevented the left of the line from joining the right of Coffee's, as had been intended. The battery of two field-pieces was formed on the road, and the British were driven from their first position at the point of the bayonet. They retired, however, only until they came to a deep ditch, on the side of which there was a rail fence, where they again formed, and, strengthened by large reinforcements, opposed the advance of the Americans. Having waited until they approached sufficiently near

to be distinctly seen, the enemy discharged a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly the little battery in the road was again formed, and poured destructively upon them ; while the infantry, pressing forward, aided in the conflict, which was at this point for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment, a brisk sally was made upon the American advance ; the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way, when the adjutant-general, and Colonels Piatt and Chotard with a part of the 7th regiment, hastening to their support, drove back the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the decided advantages which were derived from the position occupied by the enemy, ordered their line to be charged. The order was executed with promptness. Pressing on, the troops gained the ditch, and pouring across it a well-aimed fire, compelled them to retreat, and to abandon their intrenchment. They only fled a short distance, to renew the contest behind another fence or ditch, which they as obstinately defended, but were, in like manner, forced to yield.

The British then formed the design of turning the American left ; but they were met and repulsed by Daquin's and the battalion of city guards, and again fell back in the darkness. The enemy had now been thrice assailed and beaten, and for nearly a mile compelled to yield their ground. They had now retired, and were only to be found by seeking through the darkness of the night. The general determined to halt and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to continuing the action ; for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt,

from the brisk firing in that direction, that he had been warmly engaged ; but this had now nearly subsided. The Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations ; it being only occasionally that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she had of acting efficiently.

The express despatched to General Jackson from the left wing having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained no further. He had already accomplished his object : checked the British on their first landing, and given them a slight foretaste of what he had in store for them, if they should proceed any farther. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Laronde's plantation, where the line had been first formed ; and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to march. An order was sent to General Carroll, calling upon him to hasten with his brigade to the scene of action, with the intention of renewing the battle as soon as there was sufficient light. Previously, however, to his arrival, a different determination was made. From prisoners who had been brought in, and through deserters, it was ascertained that the strength of the enemy during the battle had been increased to four thousand men. The Americans numbered only twenty-five hundred, including Carroll's brigade. This superiority of the enemy made it madness to think of acting on the offensive in open day.

Although very decided advantages had been obtained, yet they had been procured under circumstances which might be wholly lost in a contest waged in daylight between forces so disproportionate, and by un-

disciplined troops, against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent on him to act a part entirely defensive. Should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would present themselves, which might be avoided so long as he could hold the enemy in check. Prompted by these considerations—that it was important to pursue a course calculated to insure safety, and believing it attainable in no way so effectually as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it compensate for the inferiority of his numbers—he determined to forbear all further offensive efforts, until he could more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops, which had not yet arrived, should reach him. Having taken this resolution at four o'clock on the morning of the 24th, and ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then abandoning, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back and formed his line behind a deep ditch that ran at right angles from the river, about two miles nearer the city.

There were two circumstances that strongly recommended this position to Jackson. The swamp, which from the highlands at Baton Rouge skirts the river at irregular distances, and in many places is almost impervious, had here approached within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easy to be defended; added to which there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side already formed a tolerable breastwork. Behind this his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing

its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and valiantly to defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

In the battle of the 23d of December, the American troops actually engaged did not amount to two thousand; yet they for two hours maintained a severe conflict with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground, with the loss of but twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners; while the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the enemy, were not less than four hundred. The Americans lost among the slain Colonel Lauderdale and Lieutenant M'Clelland.

This battle saved New Orleans. It checked the treacherous, confirmed the wavering, inspired the true. "The British had reached the Mississippi, and had encamped upon its banks, as composedly as if they had been seated on their own soil, at a distance from all danger. They felt certain of success, and that the American troops, so easily routed at Bladensburg, would scarcely venture to resist at New Orleans. Resting thus confidently, they would have moved forward the next day, and might have accomplished their designs. But General Jackson, with a force inferior by one-half to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment broke into the camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry, drove before him for nearly a mile, the proud conquerors of Europe! This was on the 23d of December, 1814; and although it was not the death-blow, it was the master-stroke of bravery and sagacity which saved the city from pillage. It in-

duced the enemy to believe that the American force was greater than his spies had reported it, caused him to suspend his meditated attack until he received reinforcements, and thus gave the American general time to complete his fortifications, and gather additional forces for defence.”* “It taught them respect for the American arms. It came upon them at night, in a strange land, unexpected, and when but a part of their forces were landed. It carried confusion and panic into their ranks, and dispelled the terror of their invincibility; and although the brilliant victory of the 1st of January, and the total and memorable rout of the 8th, finally expelled the invaders, they but completed and perfected what the master-stroke of the 23d had so well begun. The forces of the British vastly exceeded those of the attacking party; and this fact strongly illustrates the natural and intuitive skill of General Jackson in the art of war. It was the maxim of Napoleon, the great master of this science, that an inferior force should never wait to be attacked; for, by advancing, they either fall with all their strength on a single point when they are not expected, or meet the opposing columns on the advance, when bravery gives the victory—or, in his own nervous language, ‘*C’est une affaire des têtes des colonnes ou la bravoure seule décide tout.*’

“There were many points of resemblance between Napoleon and Jackson. Both were remarkable for impetuosity; both acted on the offensive; both in emergencies hazarded much, if not all, on the celerity

* Lewis’s Eulogy.



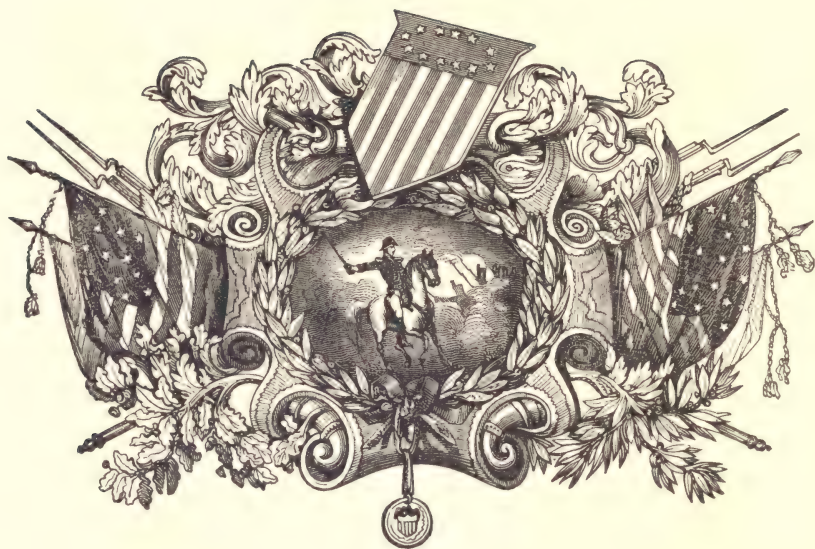
Napoleon.

and success of their assaults ; both carried the war into the heart of an enemy's country ; both were celebrated for rapidity and exactness of combination ; both startled their adversaries by sudden and unlooked-for attacks. There was a similarity even in the impassioned, sententious, and sanguine appeals of both to their respective armies ; and both attained signal and brilliant success. But, fortunately for our country, and for him whose fame we cherish, the points of difference are equally striking. Napoleon aimed at the conquest of a world, and would have established a sole monarchy, if not despotism ; his restless ambition knew no goal short of universal dominion ; and after overrunning with his successful armies a great part of the globe, he was driven from his kingdom and his throne,

confined in a solitary and remote island, where his uncontrollable spirit fretted itself out against the bars of the prison. Jackson drew his sword only at his country's call ; it was never wielded but in defence of her soil, her rights, and liberties ; he sheathed it but to return to the bosom of his family and the pleasures of domestic life ; he was attended always by the grateful plaudits of a people whose liberties he had defended, and after receiving the highest honours of the republic, his last days were cheered with the sight of a country's prosperity, to whose service his life had been devoted and he was followed to the grave by a nation of mourners."*

* Van Buren's Eulogy.





CHAPTER XV.

NEW ORLEANS—BATTLE OF THE EIGHTH OF JANUARY.



IN the defence of New Orleans, the great characteristics of Jackson were signally displayed. Promptitude in decision, and activity in execution, constituted the leading traits of his character. When

he had resolved on the course which he thought ne-

cessary to be pursued, with all possible despatch he hastened to its completion. Before him was an army proud of its name, and distinguished for its deeds of valour—an army, the finest that ever appeared on our shores,—one that had driven the warriors of France, the conquerors of continental Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees. Opposed to this was his own unbending spirit, and an inferior, undisciplined, and half-armed force. He conceived, therefore, that his was a defensive policy; that by prudence and caution he would be able to preserve what offensive operations might have a tendency to endanger. Hence, with activity and industry, based on a hope of ultimate success, he commenced his plan of defence, determining to fortify himself as effectually as the peril and pressure of the moment would permit. When to expect attack he could not tell; preparation and readiness to meet it was for him to determine on; all else was for the enemy. Promptly, therefore, he proceeded with his system of defence; and, with such thoughtfulness and anxiety, that until the night of the 27th, when his line was completed, he never slept, or for a moment closed his eyes. Resting his hope of safety here, he was everywhere present, night and day, encouraging his troops, and hastening the completion of the works. The concern and excitement produced by the mighty object before him were such as overcame the demand, and for five days and four nights he was without sleep and constantly employed.

The enemy, astounded by the warmth of reception on the night of their landing, still remained in their

first encampment. The canal which covered the front of the American line was widened and deepened, and a strong mud wall formed of the earth that was thrown out. To prevent the approach of the enemy until his system of defence should be in a state of greater forwardness, Jackson ordered the levee to be cut, about a hundred yards below his position. The river being very high, a broad stream of water passed rapidly through the plain, of the depth of thirty or forty inches, which prevented any approach of troops on foot. Embrasures were formed, and two pieces of artillery under the command of Lieutenant Spotts, early on the morning of the 24th, were placed in a position to rake the road leading up the levee.



Aware of the importance of the fort at Chef-Mentour, and of the necessity of its defence to prevent the enemy from debarking a detachment at the head of Lake Borgne, and capturing the city in his rear, while he was engaged with the main army in front, Jackson renewed his cautions to Governor Claiborne, who,

with his militia, was still stationed on the Gentilly road, and to Major Lacoste, who commanded the post at Chef-Menteur. To the latter he wrote: "The battery I have placed under your command must be defended at all hazards. In you and the valour of your troops I repose every confidence; let me not be deceived. With us everything goes on well; the enemy has not yet advanced. Our troops have covered themselves with glory: it is a noble example, and worthy to be followed by all. Maintain your post; nor ever think of retreating." Colonel Dyer, with two hundred men, was ordered to reinforce Lacoste.

The British encampment lying between the American lines and the position of General Morgan, at the English turn of the river, he was ordered to destroy the levee between him and the enemy, and interpose the waters of the Mississippi between them. On the 26th he was ordered to abandon his encampment, cross the Mississippi, and assume a position on the right bank, nearly opposite to Jackson's line, and to have it fortified as speedily as possible.

From every intelligence obtained through deserters and prisoners, it was evident that the British fleet would make an effort to ascend the river, or by some other means arrive on the scene of action, and co-operate with the troops already landed. Lest this, or a diversion in a different quarter might be attempted, exertions were made to be able to resist at all points. The forts on the river, well supported with brave men, and supplied with heavy pieces of artillery, were strong enough in the opinion of the commanding general to



Lafitte.

prevent the arrival of the hostile fleet in that direction. But they might enter through the pass Barataria, land their forces, and gain a position on the west bank of the river, whence, co-operating with the forces on the east side, they might drive the Americans from the line they had formed, and attack Jackson's line on the flank and rear. Major Reynolds and Captain Lafitte were accordingly ordered thither, with instructions to place the bayous emptying through this pass in the best possible state of defence. Lafitte was selected for this service on account of the knowledge of the topography and precise situation of this part of the state, which he had acquired while acting as the leader of a small body of privateers, who made the island of Barataria their principal rendezvous.

Of these celebrated and daring men a brief notice here will not be considered as misplaced. When Guadaloupe was captured by the British, many privateers were at sea, commissioned by the government of that island. Prevented from returning into the ports whence they sailed, and not being permitted to dispose of their prizes in any of the harbours of the United States, then at peace with Great Britain, many of them sailed for Carthagena, which had but recently declared its independence from Spain. From the government of Carthagena they received commissions to cruise against the Spaniards. In this new character, under the Carthaginian flag, they committed great havoc among the Spanish merchantmen trading in the Gulf of Mexico. Their prizes being too numerous and valuable to be trusted in any of the ports which were open to them, they took possession of the islands of Barataria and Grande Terre, lying west of the river Mississippi. The latter island possessed an excellent harbour, and afforded sufficient anchorage-ground for all the privateers and their prizes. Here they established a regular depot; and from this place immense quantities of goods were smuggled into New Orleans, in direct violation of the revenue laws of the United States. Their lodgment upon these islands was in itself illegal, as the ground belonged to the United States, who were bound to preserve the neutrality of their territory.

No effective measures were taken, however, to expel them; and the Baratarians continued their depredations upon the Spanish commerce, and sometimes ventured to attack vessels of other nations. They

were generally regarded as pirates ; but it is probable that most, if not all of them, were commissioned by the Carthaginian government. The leaders of the Baratarians were two brothers named Lafitte. One of these was apprehended by the American authorities, and thrown into prison at New Orleans, before the arrival of the British at Pensacola. The co-operation of these men, the British officers believed, would be of great importance in the projected invasion, more particularly as they were intimately acquainted with the navigation of the coast and river. Captain Percy, commander of the naval forces of the British, and Colonel Nicholls, accordingly determined to secure it, if possible. Captain Lockyer, of the sloop *Sophia*, was despatched to Barataria, bearing offers of liberal remuneration to the Lafittes and their followers, if they would assist the British. Captain Percy informed the Baratarians, that having understood that several British vessels had been taken by their cruisers, he should require instant restitution, and in case of refusal destroy their vessels and property. At the same time, he assured them that “should they be inclined to assist Great Britain in her just war against the United States, the security of their property and the blessings of the British constitution are offered to them—and should they be inclined to settle on this continent, lands would at the conclusion of the war be assigned to them in his majesty’s colonies in America.

In return for all these concessions on the part of Great Britain, they were to abandon their predatory warfare against Spain, and to place their vessels under the control of the British government, which would

compensate them fully for all their property. The Baratarians were invited to enter the British service, and a free pardon was offered to all deserters, or other British subjects, who would return to their duty. To the leaders, a prospect of rank and promotion in the British navy was held out, to confirm them in a determination which the British officers doubted not they would form.

The *Sophia* arrived off the pass of Barataria on the 3d of September. Having fired upon a vessel which was attempting to enter, she anchored at the entrance of the pass. Captain Lockyer, with two other officers, proceeded towards the shore in the pinnace. They were met by the younger Lafitte, to whom they delivered their despatches. Having perused them, and listened to the explanations of Captain Lockyer, Lafitte requested to be allowed a few days for consideration, when he would decide upon the course he should pursue. The crews of the privateers, suspecting the object of the visit of the British officers, wished to detain them; and they were actually seized and confined during the momentary absence of Lafitte. He succeeded, however, in persuading his followers to release them, and they returned to their vessel; Lafitte promising to give an answer in a few days to their propositions. On the following day he wrote to Captain Lockyer, requesting two weeks for preparation, and seemingly accepting the offers he had made. On the same day he despatched a messenger to New Orleans, bearing a letter to Mr. Blanque, one of the representatives, and president of the committee of defence, enclosing all the papers left by the British, and

also a letter to Governor Claiborne. To the governor he declared his wish to support and defend the government, and requested that his past infractions of the laws should be overlooked. He tendered his services to assist in defending the country, and declared, that should his offer not be accepted, he would leave the United States, that he might not be charged with assisting its enemies.

The committee of defence was convened, and the papers laid before it; and an answer was returned to Lafitte, that his past acts should be buried in oblivion, and a request that he should not act until he should hear again from the authorities. No further answer, however, was returned. The ship of Captain Lockyer and two other vessels appeared off the pass at the appointed time, and remained in the vicinity several days; but not being met by Lafitte, according to the agreement, they returned to their rendezvous. The elder Lafitte was released from confinement, and permitted to rejoin his companions; but no other notice was taken of the services or offers of his brother—and the next intelligence received from New Orleans was that the authorities there were fitting out an expedition to capture or destroy the vessels of the Baratarians. On the 16th of September, this expedition, under Commodore Patterson, appeared off Baratania, and, to the astonishment of Lafitte, proceeded to take possession of his vessels. He would not suffer his men to molest the Americans; but ordered them to retire and remain concealed until further orders. A detachment was then landed, which destroyed their town. Though thus treated as pirates, these brave men did not oppose

the officers of the country to whom they had offered their services. They retired, and waited until the declaration of martial law at New Orleans, and the certainty of an approaching invasion, again induced them to make a tender of their services. A full pardon was granted them by Governor Claiborne, for their numerous infractions of the revenue laws ; and Jackson, persuaded that their assistance could not fail of being very useful, accepted their offers. During the great battles they occupied prominent posts, and added greatly to the strength and skill of the American army. On the 8th of January, some of them were stationed on the line, and with distinguished skill served two batteries, which poured destruction upon the advancing columns. Some of them were stationed at Fort St. Philip, where they soon had an opportunity of rendering an important service to the country ; while others were sent to the fort of Petites Coquilles and the bayou St. John. Lafitte, who had already shown a lively zeal on behalf of his adopted country, was, as we have seen, despatched with Major Reynolds to defend the pass Barataria.

With these arrangements for outward defence, there was little room to apprehend or fear disaster. But still, what a little surprised Jackson, notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it, the enemy were daily and constantly apprised of everything that transpired in the American camp. Every arrangement and every change of position was immediately communicated. Everything was done by the British commanders to obtain this information ; prisoners were bribed, deserters examined, and even a flag of truce

was disregarded, and its bearer detained as a prisoner by Admiral Cochrane, in order if possible to discover the number of the American forces. The precautions of Jackson, however, prevented his numbers from being known even to his own soldiers. At the close of the invasion, a British officer remarked, "Nothing was kept a secret from us, except your numbers; this, although diligently sought after, could never be procured." The vigilance of the general was increased, and every precaution adopted to prevent any communication by which the slightest intelligence should be had of his situation, already sufficiently deplorable. Additional guards were posted along the swamp, on both sides of the Mississippi, to arrest all intercourse; while on the river, the common highway, watch-boats were constantly plying during the night, in different directions, so that a log could scarcely float down the stream unperceived. Notwithstanding every precaution, treason still discovered avenues through which to project and execute her nefarious plans, and through them was constantly afforded information to the enemy, carried to them, no doubt, by adventurous friends, who sought and effected their nightly passage through the deepest parts of the swamp, where it was impossible for sentinels to be stationed.

Since their landing, the enemy had been constantly engaged in procuring from their shipping everything necessary to their ulterior designs. Complete command of the lakes, and possession of a point on the margin, gave them uninterrupted ingress and egress, and the opportunity of conveying whatever was wanted, in perfect safety to their camp. They were thus en-

gaged during the first three days after their arrival, and on the night of the 26th they threw up a battery on the bank of the river, and mounted upon it several pieces of heavy ordnance. In the morning a fire was opened from it on the Caroline schooner, lying under the opposite shore.

Since the battle of the 23d, this vessel had made many unsuccessful attempts to advance higher up the stream, and nearer to the line, for the double purpose of its defence and her own safety. These attempts to remove her being discovered, the battery, mounting five guns, was opened on her, discharging bombs and red-hot shot. It was spiritedly answered, but with little injury to the battery, there being on board but one long twelve-pounder that could reach. The shot from the battery soon set her on fire; and the flames bursting forth in different places, and fast spreading, induced a fear that the magazine would soon be reached, and everything destroyed. One of the crew being killed and six wounded, and not a glimmering of hope entertained that she could be preserved, Captain Henly, her commander, issued the orders for her abandonment. The crew reached the shore in safety, and a few minutes afterwards she blew up. Captain Henly, with his men, repaired to the line, and offered their services to Jackson as gunners. They were gladly accepted, and the very next day they had an opportunity of showing that firmness and decision on the land, for which on previous occasions they had become distinguished on board of the Caroline.

Sir Edward Packenham had arrived on the 25th, and it was by his order that the battery was erected



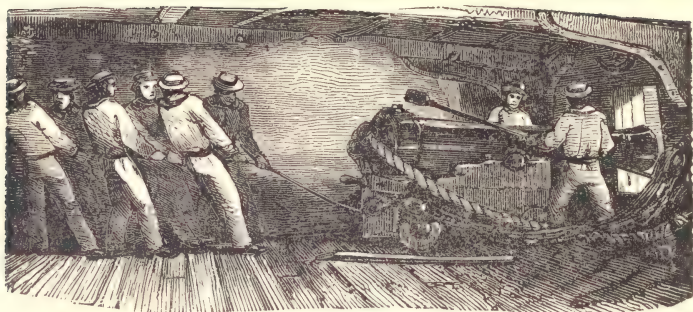
English Soldiers throwing up a Battery.

which demolished the American schooner. Gaining confidence from his success, he put his army in motion early on the next morning, the 28th, and advanced against the American works. At the distance of half a mile, his heavy artillery opened, and quantities of bombs, balls, and Congreve rockets were discharged. It was a commencement of noise and terrific grandeur, which he had probably calculated would excite a panic in the minds of the raw recruits of Jackson's army, and compel them to surrender, or abandon their stronghold. But he did not know Jackson, and he was not present on the night of the 23d, or he might have known Jackson's men better. They had then afforded abundant proof, that whether disciplined or not, they well knew how to defend the honour and interests of their country; and had sufficient valour not to be alarmed at the reality—still less, the semblance of danger. The British rockets, though a kind of instru-

ment of destruction to which they, unskilled in the science of desolating warfare, had been hitherto strangers, excited no other feeling than that which novelty inspires. At the moment, therefore, that the British in different columns were moving up, in all the pomp and parade of battle, preceded by these insignia of terror more than danger, and were expecting to behold their opponents tremblingly retire and flee before them, the batteries, well served by the Baratarians and seamen, opened, and arrested their advance.

The severest check to their advance, however, was given by the sloop of war *Louisiana*, which lay in the river, nearly opposite the line of defence. No sooner did her commander, Lieutenant Thompson, discover the approach of the columns, than warping his vessel around, he brought her starboard guns to bear, and worked them with such effect, as soon to compel the enemy to retreat. Falling back to a comparatively safe distance, they maintained the conflict with their heavy artillery for seven hours, when, unable to make a breach in the line or silence the fire from the sloop, they abandoned a contest in which so few advantages seemed to be presented.

The crew of the *Louisiana* was composed of new recruits and of discordant materials,—of soldiers, citizens, and seamen; yet by the activity of their commander, they were so well perfected in their duty, that they already managed their guns with the greatest precision and certainty of effect; and by three o'clock in the afternoon, with the aid of the land batteries, had completely silenced and driven back the enemy. Emboldened by the effect produced the day before on



the *Caroline*, the furnaces of the enemy were put in operation, and many hot shot were thrown from a heavy piece which was placed behind and protected by the levee. When the enemy retreated, those who attempted to carry off this piece, losing the protection of the levee, were fairly exposed to the fire from the sloop, and suffered greatly by it. In their endeavours to remove, "I saw," says Commodore Patterson, "distinctly, with the aid of a glass, several balls strike in the midst of the men who were employed in dragging it away."

In this engagement, the Americans received very little injury. The *Louisiana* sloop, against which the most violent exertions were made, had but a single man wounded, by a fragment of a shell which burst over her deck. Their entire loss did not exceed nine killed, and eight or ten wounded; and this small number would have been less, if the line of defence had been completely finished. The enemy, being more exposed, acting in the open field, and in range of our guns, suffered considerable injury. They had at least one hundred and twenty killed and wounded.

Of the nine Americans killed, six of them were shot without the lines. An advanced party of the British had taken post behind a fence that ran obliquely to, and not very far from the ditch. Colonel Henderson, with a detachment of two hundred men, was sent out to dislodge them. He was ordered to march in the direction of the wood, and turning the enemy's right, cut off his retreat. Misunderstanding the order, the colonel proceeded in front, in the direction of the river, leaving the fence between him and his enemy, and waded through the water, which was there nearly knee-deep, until he reached a dry knoll, where he formed and attempted to execute his order. Being in an open and exposed situation, directly in front of the British party, he was soon killed by a ball in the head. Deprived of their commander, and perceiving their situation hazardous and untenable, the detachment retreated to the line, with the loss of their colonel and five men.

While this advance was being made, a column of the enemy threatened an attack on the extreme left of the American line. To frustrate the attempt, General Jackson ordered Coffee with his riflemen to hasten through the woods and check their approach. The enemy, though greatly superior to him in numbers, no sooner discovered his movement, than they retired and abandoned the attack which they had meditated.

Frequent light skirmishes by advanced parties, without material effect on either side, were the only incidents that took place for several days. Colonel Hinds, at the head of the Mississippi dragoons, on the 30th of December, was ordered to dislodge a party

of the enemy, who, under cover of a ditch that ran across the plain, were annoying the American fatigue parties. In this advance he was unexpectedly thrown into an ambuscade, and became exposed to the fire of a line which had hitherto lain concealed and unobserved. His collected conduct and gallant deportment extricated him from the danger in which he was placed, and gained him and his corps the approbation of the commanding general. The enemy, forced from their position, retired, and he returned to the line with the loss of five of his men.

Though foiled in their attack on the 28th, the British resolved to attempt another, and one which they believed would be more successful. Presuming their failure to have arisen from not having sufficiently strong batteries and heavy ordnance, a more enlarged arrangement was resorted to, with a determination to silence opposition, and make such breaches in the entrenchment as would enable their columns to pass, without being exposed to any considerable hazard. The time between the 28th of December and 1st of January was accordingly spent in preparing to execute their designs. Their boats had been despatched to the shipping, and an additional supply of heavy cannon landed through the Bayou-Bienvenu, whence they had first debarked.

During the night of the 31st of December they were busily engaged. They erected three batteries on the edge of a ditch, within six hundred yards of the line, on which they mounted eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades. A thick fog next morning, which was not dispelled until eight o'clock, by concealing

their purpose, aided them in the plans they were projecting, and gave time for the completion of their works. As soon as it was sufficiently clear to distinguish objects at a distance, they opened these batteries on the American lines, and a tremendous burst of artillery commenced, accompanied with Congreve rockets, which filled the air in every direction. The Americans, protected by a defence which they now believed to be impregnable, unmoved and undisturbed, maintained their ground, and in the end, by their skilful management, succeeded in dismounting and silencing the guns of the enemy.

The British, through the friendly interference of some traitor, having been apprised that the general had established his head quarters in a house at a small distance in the rear of his line of defence, directed against it their first and principal efforts, with the view of destroying the commander. So great was the number of balls thrown, that in a short time its porticoes were beaten down, and the building made a complete wreck. In this dishonourable design they were, however, disappointed; for, with Jackson it was a constant practice, on the first appearance of danger, not to wait in his quarters, watching events, but instantly to proceed to the line, and be ready to order the defence as circumstances might require. Constantly in expectation of a charge, he was never absent from the post of danger; and thither he had this morning repaired, at the first sound of the cannon, to direct the defence, and inspire his troops with firmness.

As soon as the new batteries could be seen, the American guns along the whole line opened to repel

the assault, and a constant roar of cannon on both sides continued until nearly noon, when the batteries on the right were nearly beaten down, and many of the guns dismounted, broken, and rendered useless. That next the river continued its fire until three o'clock, when, perceiving all attempts to force a breach ineffectual, the enemy gave up the contest and retired.

That they should have been again repulsed, seems never to have entered the minds of the assailants. So confident were they of success in this attack, that early in the morning their soldiers were arrayed along the ditches, in rear of their batteries, prepared and ready to advance to the charge the moment a breach could be made. There, by their situation protected from danger, they remained waiting the result that should call them to act. But their efforts not having produced the desired effect, they abandoned the contest and retired to their camp, leaving their batteries almost destroyed.

Early in the day, Packenham made another attempt to turn the American left. He ordered some platoons of sharp-shooters to enter the woods, and by penetrating into the swamp, to gain the flank of the Americans. In this way it was expected a diversion could be made, while the reserve columns, being in readiness and waiting, were to press forward the moment this object could be effected. Here too he was disappointed. Coffee's brigade being already extended into the swamp as far as it was possible for an advancing party to penetrate, brought unexpected dangers into view, and occasioned an abandonment of the project.

That to turn the extreme left of the line was prac-

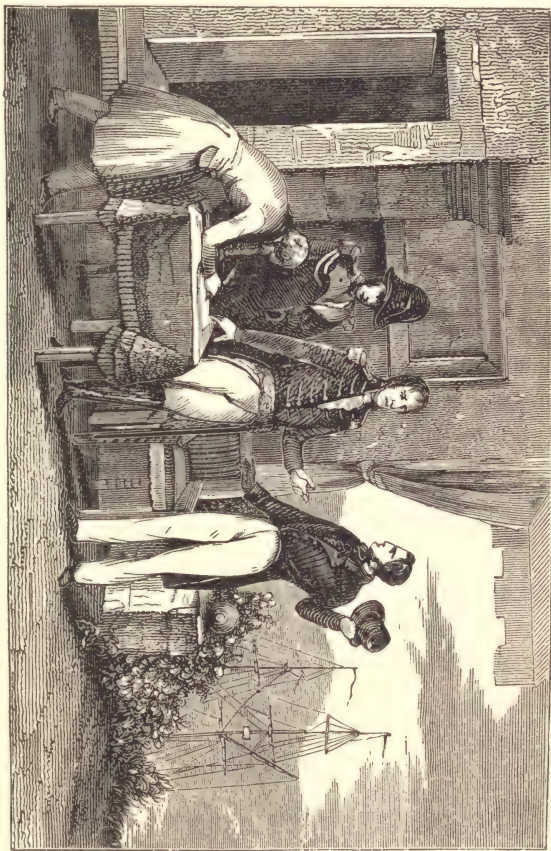
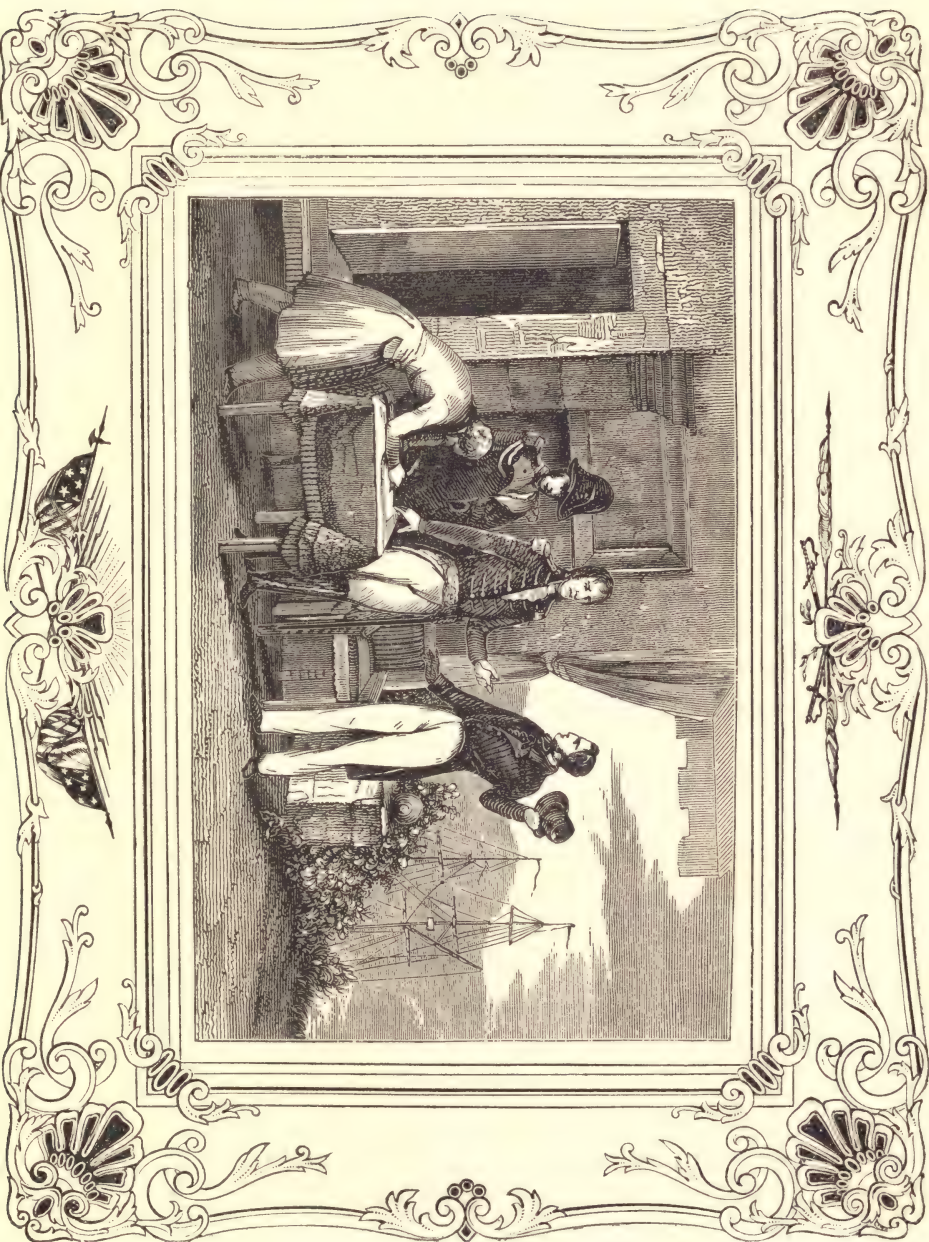
ticable, and might be attempted, was the subject of early consideration, and necessary precaution had been taken to prevent it. Although cutting the levee had raised the waters in the swamp, and increased the difficulties of keeping troops there, yet a fear lest this pass might be sought by the enemy, and the rear of the line thereby gained, had determined the general to extend his defence even here. This had been intrusted to General Coffee; and surely a more arduous duty can scarcely be imagined. To form a breastwork in such a place was attended with many difficulties and considerable exposure. A slight defence, however, had been thrown up, and the underwood for thirty or forty yards in front cut down, that the riflemen stationed for its protection might have a complete view of any force which through this route might attempt a passage. When it is recollected that this position was to be maintained night and day, uncertain of the moment of attack, and that the only opportunity afforded the troops for rest was on logs and brush thrown together, by which they were raised above the surrounding water, it may be truly said, that seldom has it fallen to the lot of any to encounter greater hardships. But, accustomed to privation, and alive to those feelings which a love of country inspires, they obeyed without complaining, and cheerfully kept their position on their floating logs, until all danger had subsided. Sensible of the importance of the point they defended, and that it was necessary to be maintained, be the sacrifice what it might, they looked to nothing but a zealous and faithful discharge of the trust confided to them.

The American loss on the first of January, 1815, was eleven killed and twenty-three wounded; that of the enemy was never correctly ascertained. It is presumed to have been at least seventy.

The enemy's heavy shot having penetrated the intrenchment in many places, it was discovered not to be as strong as it was at first imagined. Fatigue parties were again employed, and its strength daily increased. Cotton-bags were made use of to strengthen and defend the embrasures along the line. A Frenchman, whose property had been thus seized, fearful of the injury it might sustain, proceeded in person to General Jackson to reclaim it. The general having heard his complaint, and ascertained from him that he was not employed in any military service, directed a musket to be brought to him, when placing it in his hand, and pointing to the cotton-bales in the breast-work, replied, "There is your property. I know nobody that has any better right than you to defend it."

Both armies were in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements; and they now were busily and constantly engaged in preparations for the approaching struggle.

The position of the American army was in the rear of an intrenchment formed of earth, and which extended in a straight line from the river to a considerable distance within the swamp. In front was a deep ditch, which had formerly been used as a mill-race. The Mississippi had receded and left this dry, next the river, though in many places the water still remained. Along the line and at unequal distances, to the centre of General Carroll's command, were



guns mounted of different calibre, from six to thirty-two pounders. Near the river, and in advance of the intrenchment, was erected a redoubt with embrasures, commanding the road along the levee, and calculated to rake the ditch in front. This redoubt was defended by a company of the seventh regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Ross. The regular troops occupied that part of the intrenchment next the river. General Carroll's division of Tennessee militia was in the centre, who, after the 4th of January, were supported by the Kentucky troops under General John Adair; while the extreme left, extending for a considerable distance into the swamp, was protected by the brigade of General Coffee. General Jackson, in person, commanded the whole of this line.

To be prepared against every possible contingency that might arise, he had established another line of defence, about two miles in the rear of the one at present occupied, which was intended as a rallying point, if he should be driven from his first position. With the aid of his cavalry, to give a momentary check to the advance of the enemy, he expected to be able, with inconsiderable injury, to reach it; where he would again have advantages on his side, be in a situation to dispute a further passage to the city, and arrest their progress. To inspirit his own soldiers, and to exhibit to the enemy as great a show as possible of strength and intended resistance, his unarmed troops, who constituted no very inconsiderable number, were here stationed. All intercourse between the lines, except by confidential officers, was prohibited, and every precaution employed, not only to keep this want



Erection of Morgan's Battery.

of preparation concealed from the enemy, but even from being known on his own lines.

The position of General Morgan, on the right bank of the river, was formed on the same plan with the line on the left—lower down than that on the left, and extending towards the swamp, at right angles to the river. The defences here were not strong; but, if properly maintained by the troops selected to defend them, were believed fully adequate to the purpose of successful resistance. Besides being strengthened by several brass twelve-pounders, Morgan's line was defended by a strong battery, mounting twenty-four pounders, directed by Commodore Patterson.

On the 4th of January, the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to two thousand two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major-General Thomas, arrived at head quarters, but so ill-provided with arms as to be incapable of rendering

any considerable service. The alacrity with which the citizens of this state had proceeded to the frontiers and aided in the north-western campaigns, added to the disasters which ill-timed policy or misfortune had produced, had created such a drain, that arms were not to be procured. They had advanced, however, to their point of destination, with an expectation of being supplied on their arrival. About five hundred of them had muskets; the rest were provided with guns, from which little or no advantage could be expected. The Mayor of New Orleans, at the request of General Jackson, had already examined and drawn from the city every weapon that could be found; while the arrival of the Louisiana militia, in an equally unprepared situation, rendered it impossible for the evil to be effectually remedied. The five hundred were divided, part of them being placed on the line with General Carroll, while the remainder were stationed on the right bank with General Morgan. No alternative was presented to Jackson but to place the remaining seventeen hundred and fifty at his intrenchment in the rear, conceal their actual condition, and by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength.

Information was now received that Major-General Lambert had joined General Packenham with a considerable reinforcement. It had been heretofore announced in the American camp that additional forces were expected, and something decisive might be looked for as soon as they should arrive. This circumstance, in connexion with others no less favouring the idea, had led to the conclusion that a few days more would

in all probability bring on the struggle which would decide the fate of the city. It was more than ever necessary to keep concealed the situation of Jackson's army, and, above all, to preserve as secret as possible its unarmed condition. To restrict all communication even between his own lines was now, as danger increased, rendered more important. None were permitted to leave the line, and none from without to pass into his camp, but such as might be implicitly confided in. The line of sentinels was strengthened in front, that none might pass to the enemy, should desertion be attempted. Still, notwithstanding every precaution and all his care, his plans and situation were disclosed. On the night of the 6th, a soldier from the line by some means succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the sentinels. Early next morning his departure was discovered, and it was at once correctly conjectured that he had gone over to the enemy, and would, no doubt, afford them all the information in his power to communicate. This opinion, as subsequent circumstances disclosed, was well founded; and dearly did the deserter atone for his crime. He unfolded to the British the situation of the American line, the late reinforcements which had arrived, and the unarmed condition of some of the troops; but fortunately he himself was ignorant of the extent of this evil; and then, pointing to the centre of General Carroll's division as a place occupied only by militia, recommended it as the point where an attack might be most prudently and safely made.

During the 7th, a constant bustle was perceived in the British camp. Along the borders of the canal

their soldiers were continually in motion, marching and manœuvring, seemingly for no other purpose than to conceal something behind. To ascertain the cause of this uncommon stir, Commodore Patterson proceeded down the river, on the opposite side, and having gained a favourable position in front of their encampment, discovered them to be engaged in deepening the canal, and widening the passage to the river. It was no difficult matter to divine their purpose. No other conjecture could be entertained, than that an assault was intended to be made on the line of defence, commanded by General Morgan ; which, if gained, would expose the troops on the left bank to the fire of the redoubt erected on the right ; and in this way compel them to an abandonment of their position. It was important to counteract this scheme ; and measures were immediately taken to prevent the execution of a plan which, if successful, would be attended with incalculable dangers. An increased strength was given to the menaced line, the second regiment of Louisiana militia being sent across the river to defend it. Four hundred of the Kentucky militia were also ordered over, but owing to the difficulty of procuring arms for them, only one hundred and eighty crossed, and they did not arrive till the morning of the 8th. A little before daylight on that day they were despatched to aid an advanced party, which, under the command of Major Arnaud, had been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and oppose their landing.

On the left bank, where the general in person commanded, everything was ready for the assault when it should be made. Unmoved by appearances, he

anxiously desired a contest, which he believed would give a triumph to his arms, and terminate the hardships of his suffering soldiers. Unremitting in exertion, and constantly vigilant, his precaution kept pace with the zeal and preparation of the enemy. He seldom slept; he was always at his post, performing the duties of both general and soldier. His sentinels were doubled, and extended as far as possible in the direction of the British camp; while a considerable portion of the troops were constantly at the line, with arms in their hands, ready to act on the first alarm.

For six days had the two armies lain upon the same field, and in view of each other, without anything decisive being effected on either side. Twice since their landing had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed—had been compelled to relinquish the attempt, and retire, beaten, from the contest. It was not to be expected that things could long remain in this dubious state. Soldiers, the pride of England, the boasted conquerors of Europe, were there; distinguished generals their leaders, who earnestly desired to announce to their country and to the world their signal achievements. The army was splendid in all its appointments, from the grand park of artillery, down to the general band of musicians. The expectations which had been indulged of the success of this expedition, were to be realized at every peril, or disgrace would follow the failure.

The 8th of January at length arrived. The day dawned; and the signals intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements were descried. On the



General Packenham's band.

left, near the swamp, a sky-rocket was perceived rising in the air; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They were intended to announce that all was prepared and ready, to proceed and carry by storm a defence which had twice foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that the soldiers at the outposts with difficulty fled in.

The British batteries which had been demolished on the first of the month, had been re-established

during the preceding night, and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon the American line; while the air was lighted with Congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the centre of General Carroll's command, the left against the redoubt on the levee. A thick fog, that obscured the morning, enabled them to approach within a short distance of the intrenchment before they were discovered. "Jackson then beheld the long columns advancing, their scarlet and steel glittering in the morning light, like the scales of two large crested dragons coming up out of the sea to devour him. Now and then a sky-rocket shot into the air made wild music with the elements. The first ball that passed him, Jackson saluted,—'Welcome, thou first visiter from a British mortar, long have I sought to meet you,—now is our day of reckoning.' Slowly and steadily the long columns advanced. All was silence behind the parapets; yonder is one waving his port-fire in the air to keep it glowing; yonder is a long line, with hands on the lock, ready for the word; there stands Jackson like Mars's statue, his eyes glaring fire, and his drawn sword ready to wave a deadly salute. Presently the air is rent, and it rains down on the devoted columns hail and fire and brimstone, such as was not known since the days of Sodom—it seemed as if the earth belched forth thunder, and opened her devouring jaws to swallow them. Behold

yon long line of glittering scarlet and steel—anon, smoke, and cries, and consternation.”*

The front ranks of the British were mowed down, and their advance arrested. In the American musketry there was not a moment's intermission: as one company discharged their pieces another succeeded; alternately loading and appearing, no pause could be perceived—it was one continued volley, one continuous stream of fire. Batteries Nos. 6, 7, and 8, immediately in front of the advancing column, were ably served, and galled them with an incessant and destructive fire. Notwithstanding the severity of this fire, which few troops could for a moment have withstood, some of those brave men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch in front of the works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards made prisoners. The horror before them was too great to be withstood; and already were the British troops seen wavering in their determination, and receding from the conflict. “In that wild revelry, Jackson's men seemed not living men of flesh and blood, but the spirits of some departed generation, playing with the cannon and the musketry; none fell, none faltered. That is not Jackson gliding like a shadow in the flame and smoke—it is the spirit of his father—his murdered brother—it is the spirit of his mother coming from her long-lost grave, and waving the death-torch in frantic joy over the heads of her dying murderers. Ah! Packenham, your boots are muddy now, who will clean them? Go, Lambert, to the prison-boy of

* Garland's Eulogy.



Fall of General Gibbs.

Camden, he will tell you how to minister to the wants of the sick, the wounded and the prisoner! Gibbs can tell how a magnanimous soul can act towards a fallen foe!''*

But the British were wavering, and thinking of flight. At this instant, Sir Edward Pakenham, hastening to the front, endeavoured to encourage and inspire them with renewed zeal. His example was of short continuance: he soon fell mortally wounded in the arms of an aid-de-camp, not far from the ditch. Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell, and were borne from the field dangerously wounded. At this moment

* Garland's Eulogy.

General Lambert, who was advancing with the reserve at a small distance in the rear, met the columns precipitately retreating, and in great confusion. His efforts to stop them were unavailing. They continued retreating until they reached a ditch, at the distance of four hundred yards, where a momentary safety being found, they were rallied and halted.

The field before them, over which they had advanced, was strewed with the dead and dying. Danger still hovered around; yet urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavouring to do so; but the same constant and unremitted resistance that caused their first retreat, continued yet unabated. The batteries had never ceased their fire; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of the musketry, mowed down the front of the columns as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied that nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded. It was in vain their officers endeavoured to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. The panic produced from the dreadful repulse they had experienced, the plain on which they had acted being covered with innumerable bodies of their countrymen, while with their most zealous exertions they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage, were circumstances well calculated

to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him.

In the meantime the left of General Keane's division, under the command of Colonel Rennie, proceeded against the redoubt on the right of the American line. They marched under cover of some chimneys standing in the field, until they cleared them, when they obliqued to the river, and, protected by the levee, advanced until they arrived at the ditch. Their advance was greatly annoyed by Commodore Patterson's battery on the right bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt; but, reaching the works and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and calling to his troops, bade them follow. He had scarcely spoken, when he fell by the fatal aim of a rifleman. Pressed by the impetuosity of superior numbers, who were mounting the wall and entering at the embrasures, the Americans retired to the line, in the rear of the redoubt. A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city riflemen, cool and self-possessed, perceiving the enemy in his front, opened upon them, and at every discharge brought the object to the ground. To advance or maintain the point gained was equally impracticable for the enemy. To retreat or surrender was the only alternative; for they already saw the division on the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving the field.

As soon as the enemy retired on the left, General Jackson pressed forward reinforcements to the right of his line, with orders to regain the redoubt. Previously to their arrival, the enemy had abandoned the



attempt, and were retiring. They were severely galled by such of the guns as could be brought to bear. The levee afforded them considerable protection; yet, by Commodore Patterson's redoubt on the right bank, they suffered greatly. Enfiladed by this on their advance, they had been greatly annoyed; and now, in their retreat, were no less severely assailed. Numbers found a grave in the ditch before the intrenchments; and the route along which they had advanced and retired was strewed with bodies. Affrighted at the carnage, they moved from the scene hastily and in confusion. The batteries still continued the slaughter, cutting them down at every step; safety seemed only to be attainable beyond the range of the cannon; which, to troops so severely galled, was too remote a relief. Urged by this consideration, they fled to the ditch, whither the right division had retreated, and there remained until the darkness of night permitted them to retire. The want of arms for his men alone prevented Jackson from pursuing the enemy, and gaining a complete victory by the capture of the whole British army.

While the enemy thus attempted to storm the lines of defence on the left, Colonel Thornton, with eight hundred chosen troops, advanced on the line on the right bank of the river. Major Arnaud with two hundred men had been despatched on the night of the 7th to oppose the landing of the enemy; but he failed in his duty, did not approach the landing-place, but waited till he heard them approach to the attack, and then fled towards the lines. The Kentucky troops, having reached Morgan at five o'clock in the morning

of the 8th, were sent to aid Major Arnaud. Major Davis, who commanded, soon met the Louisianians retiring, prevailed on them to make a stand, and the two detachments united formed behind a mill-race. Davis with his two hundred Kentuckians formed on the road next the river, supported by the Louisiana militia on the right. The enemy appearing, their approach was resisted, and a warm and spirited opposition for some time maintained. A momentary check was given. The British again advanced and again received a heavy fire. At this moment, General Morgan's aid-de-camp, who was present, perceiving the steady advance of the enemy, and fearing for the safety of the troops, ordered a retreat. Confusion was the consequence—order could not be maintained, and the whole fled in haste to Morgan's line. Arriving in safety, though much exhausted, they were immediately directed to form on the right of the line, and extend themselves to the swamp, to prevent the enemy from turning the right flank.

Colonel Thornton advanced to the attack in two divisions, against the extreme right and centre of the line. A severe discharge from the field-pieces stationed along the line caused the right column to oblique and unite with the left, when they proceeded together towards the point occupied by the Kentucky troops. Perceiving themselves thus exposed, and not having yet recovered from the emotions produced by their first retreat, they began to give way, and very soon entirely abandoned their position. The Louisiana militia gave a few fires, and followed their example. Through the exertions of the officers, a momentary

halt was effected ; but a burst of Congreve rockets, falling thickly and setting fire to the sugar-cane and other combustibles around, again excited their fears, and they moved hastily away ; nor could they be again rallied, until at the distance of two miles, having reached a mill-race, they were formed and placed in an attitude of defence. When the militia forsook their posts, Commodore Patterson, perceiving that he could no longer maintain his position, spiked his guns, destroyed his ammunition, and retired from a post where he had rendered the most important services.

Fearful lest the guns might be unspiked and brought to operate against him, General Jackson hastened to throw detachments across, with orders to regain the redoubt at all hazards. To the troops on the right bank, he forwarded an address, with a view to excite them to deeds of valour, and inspirit them to exertions that should wipe off the reproach they had drawn upon themselves. Previously, however, to their being in readiness to act, he succeeded, by stratagem, in re-obtaining it, and thus spared the effusion of blood which would have been necessary to its accomplishment.

The American effective force at the line, on the left bank, was three thousand seven hundred ; that of the enemy at least nine thousand. The loss of the British in the main attack, on the left bank, has been at different times variously stated. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, ascertained on the day after the battle by Colonel Hayne, the inspector-general, makes it twenty-six hundred. General Lambert's report to Lord Bathurst makes it but two thousand and

seventy. From prisoners, however, and information derived through other sources, it must have been even greater than is stated by either. Among them was the commander-in-chief, and Major-General Gibbs, who died of his wounds the next day, besides many of their most valuable and distinguished officers.

The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was but thirteen.

On the right bank the British loss was one hundred and twenty men killed or wounded; whilst that of the Americans was one killed, five wounded, and nineteen missing.

The events of this day afford abundant evidence of the liberality of the American soldiers, and show a striking difference in the troops of the two nations. While the British soldier was allured to acts of bravery and duty, by the promised pillage and plunder of the inhabitants, and the commission of crimes abhorrent in the sight of earth and heaven, the American fought but for his country; and, having repelled her assailants, instantly forgot all enmity, viewed his fallen foe as a brother, and hastened to assist him, even at the hazard of his own life. The gallantry of the British soldiers, and no people could have displayed greater, had brought many of them even to the American ramparts, where, shot down by their opponents, they were lying, badly wounded. When the firing had ceased, and the columns had retired, Jackson's troops, with generous benevolence, advanced over their lines to assist and bring in the wounded, who lay under and near the walls; when, strange to tell, the enemy, from a ditch they occupied, opened a fire upon them, and

though at a considerable distance, succeeded in wounding several. It was enough for the Americans that they were doing an act which the benevolence of their hearts approved; and, with charitable perseverance, they continued to administer to the wants of these suffering men, and to carry them within their lines, although in their efforts they were continually exposed to danger. Let the apologist for crime say wherefore were acts thus unpardonable committed against men who were administering to the wants, and relieving the sufferings of the dying countrymen of those who thus repaid the most laudable humanity with wanton and useless cruelty.

A communication was shortly after received from Major-General Lambert, on whom in consequence of the fall of Generals Packenham, Gibbs, and Keane, the command had devolved, acknowledging the kindness of the soldiers, and requesting permission to send an unarmed party to bury the dead lying before his lines, and to bring off such of them as were dangerously wounded. The request to bury the dead was granted; though General Jackson refused to permit a near approach to his line, but consented that the wounded who were at a greater distance than three hundred yards from the intrenchments should be relieved, and the dead buried: those nearer were to be delivered over by his own men, that the enemy might not have an opportunity to inspect, or know anything of his situation.

General Lambert, desirous of administering to the relief of the wounded, and that he might be relieved from his apprehensions of an attack, proposed about

noon that hostilities should cease until the same hour the next day. General Jackson, cherishing the hope of being able to secure an important advantage by his apparent willingness to accede to the proposal, drew up an armistice and forwarded it to General Lambert, with directions for it to be immediately returned, if approved. It contained a stipulation to this effect:— That hostilities on the left bank of the river should be discontinued from its ratification, but on the right bank they should not cease; and, in the interim, that under no circumstances were reinforcements to be sent across by either party. This was a bold stroke at stratagem; and although it succeeded even to the extent desired, was yet attended with considerable hazard. Reinforcements had been ordered over to retake the position lost by Morgan in the morning, and the general presumed they had arrived at their point of destination; but at this time they had not passed the river; nor could it be expected to be retaken with the same troops who had just yielded it, when possessed of advantages which gave them a decided superiority. This the commanding general well knew; yet, to spare the sacrifice of his men, which, in regaining it he saw must be considerable, he was disposed to venture upon a course which might possibly succeed. It was impossible that his object could be discovered; while he confidently believed the British commander would infer, from the prompt and ready manner in which his proposal had been met, that such additional troops were already thrown over as would be fully adequate to the purposes of attack, and greatly to endanger, if not wholly cut off, Colonel Thornton's retreat. Gen-

eral Lambert's construction was such as had been anticipated. Although the armistice contained a request that it should be immediately signed and returned, it was neglected to be acted upon until the next day; and Thornton and his command were in the mean time, under cover of the night, recrossed, and the ground they had occupied left to be peaceably possessed by the original holders. The opportunity thus afforded of regaining a position on which, in a great degree, depended the safety of those upon the opposite shore, was accepted with an avidity its importance merited, and immediate measures were taken to increase its strength, and prepare it against any future attack that might be made.

Early the next morning (January 9th), General Lambert returned his acceptance of what had been proposed, with an apology for having failed to reply sooner; and an armistice was concluded, to continue until two o'clock in the afternoon. The dead and wounded were then removed from the field, which, for three hundred yards in front of Jackson's line, they almost literally covered. The American soldiers within the line of demarcation between the two camps delivered over to the British, who were not permitted to cross it, the dead for burial, and the wounded on parole, for which it was stipulated an equal number of American prisoners should be restored.

There is one fact told, which clearly shows the opinion entertained by the British of the American militia, and the little fear they had of any determined opposition from them. When repulsed by them, the British officers were fully persuaded that the informa-



Burying the dead

tion given them by the deserter on the night of the 6th was false; and that instead of pointing out the ground defended by the militia, he had referred them to the place occupied by the best troops. Enraged at what they believed to be an intentional deception, they called their informant before them to account for the mischief he had done. It was in vain he urged his innocence, and, with the most solemn protestations, declared he had stated the fact truly as it was. They could not be convinced,—it was impossible that they had contended against any but the best disciplined troops; and, without further ceremony, the poor fellow, suspended in view of the camp, expiated on a tree, not his crime—for what he stated was true—but their error in underrating an enemy who had already afforded abundant evidences of valour. In all their future trials with Americans, may they be no less deceived, and may they discover in the yeomanry of the country a determination to sustain with firmness a

government which knows nothing of oppression ; but which, on an enlarged and liberal scale, aims to secure the independence and happiness of man. If the people of the United States—free almost as the air they breathe—shall at any time omit to maintain their privileges and their government, then, indeed, will it be idle longer to speak of the rights of men, or of their capacity to govern themselves : the dream of liberty must fade away and perish for ever, no more to be remembered or thought of.

After the battle of the 8th of January, Jackson could have captured every man of the British force that was upon the land, if he had been supplied with arms, according to his own repeated urgent requests, and agreeably to the promises that were made him. Not having arms, he was compelled to let the remainder of the “heroes of the Peninsula” escape. They reached Lake Borgne, and there they embarked, leaving behind them the contempt of the faithful Americans, and the sympathetic sorrows of the traitors.

“No great merit is to be attached to the fact that the flash of gunpowder and the whiz of bullets had no terrors for Andrew Jackson. There were thousands that feared them as little as he did ; while not one in a whole generation could be found with his powers of command, that fecundity of genius, by which, under the most trying circumstances, he created unforeseen resources—raised, as it were, from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors, and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defence—that instinctive superiority, self-reliance, and impulsive energy, which at once rallied around him universal confidence, im-

pressed one irresistible movement on all the jarring elements of a mixed population; roused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank the noble ardour that flowed in his own bosom—that consummate prudence which defeated all the combinations of a sagacious enemy—entangled them in the very snares they had spread for him, and succeeded in effecting their utter destruction, without exposing the lives of his own soldiers. These qualities of mind constitute his greatness, and not brute courage.

“When the 8th day of January came the work was done. The greatest enemy had been conquered. By his wise plans and indomitable energy, Jackson had made certain and inevitable the glorious results of that day. He had already fought the battle and won the victory before the day of carnage came.

“But it has been said that there is no great merit in fighting behind cotton-bags. And some are ungenerous enough to detract from that glorious achievement, on the ground that those who accomplished it stood in comparative security. Why then were not the results on the opposite side of the river as brilliant as those on the left? There were like fortifications, and the friends, neighbours, and companions of those on the left to defend them. No difference in the strength of position or the spirit of the men; yet, on the right bank, though opposed by one division only, they fled at the first fire—while those on the opposite side never flinched from their duty; though they had to meet the whole force of the British army, led on by the most renowned generals. Why this difference? On the one side there was Jackson to awe into obedience,

animate, and direct ; while on the other, there was no master-spirit like him to ‘ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm.’ All praise, then, is due to the great chieftain, who won a victory as brilliant as any recorded in the annals of warfare ; as important, in its consequences to the present and future generations, and to all mankind, as any battle ever fought in the tide of time.”*



Bombardment of Fort St. Philip.

In the morning of the 9th of January, a British squadron, consisting of two bomb-vessels, a brig, sloop, and schooner, appeared below Fort St. Philip, and commenced a bombardment of that fort, with the intention of forcing a passage up the river, and aiding the beaten army. The fire was returned from the fort with such effect as to cause the vessels to retire to the distance of two miles, out of range of the American guns ; but having it in their power to reach the fort with the shot from their large mortars. The bombardment continued without intermission from the 9th until the night of the 17th, when a heavy

* Garland's Eulogy.

mortar having been prepared and turned against them, they suspended their operations, and on the morning of the 18th, before daylight, they retired. The failure of this squadron to effect a passage up the river, perhaps determined General Lambert in the course he immediately adopted. He decamped on the night of the 18th, and embarked for his shipping on Lake Borgne, leaving behind him eighty of his soldiers, who were too severely wounded to be removed. He took such precautions, aided by the nature of the ground over which he was retreating, as prevented pursuit in sufficient numbers to secure any valuable result.

Thus, at last, in total disappointment, terminated an invasion, from which much had been expected. Twenty-six days ago, flushed with the hope of certain victory, had this army erected its standard on the banks of the Mississippi. At that moment they would have treated with contempt an assertion, that in ten days they would not enter the city of New Orleans. How changed the portrait from the expected reality! But a few days since, and they were confident of the hour of triumph, and successful termination of their labours; now, vanquished, beaten, and cut to pieces, at midnight, under cover of its darkness, they are silently abandoning their camp—breaking to pieces their artillery—fleeing from an enemy, whom but a little while before they held in utter contempt, and submitting their wounded to his clemency. A demonstration is given, which a Briton short of absolute proof would have been among the last to have admitted, that fourteen thousand troops, who often against the sternest opposition had signalized themselves in battle, and

marched to victory, could, under any circumstances, be beaten and one-third of them destroyed by an inferior number of men, who scarcely knew how to form in column, or deploy into lines: but they knew what was of infinitely more service—in nerving with strength the soldier's arm, and dispelling everything like fear—that they were contending for their rights against a power which was causelessly seeking their destruction—for privilege against usurpation—for liberty, in opposition to oppression—that they were fighting for a country they loved, and for enjoyments which, if once lost, could never be regained. Prompted by these considerations, they had entered the field, and under their influence had acted. For their toils and privations they were amply remunerated—they had met their own and the country's expectations—had saved a city from destruction—its inhabitants from cruelty and dishonour, and were carrying with them that consolation, which the recollection of a faithful discharge of duty never fails to inspire.

Having established such strong posts as he thought would prevent the enemy from again reaching the Mississippi, General Jackson with his remaining forces returned to New Orleans. His approach to the city was hailed with acclamations. It was not the kind of applause which, resulting from fear, is often extended by the subject to some conqueror or tyrant returning in triumph; but that which was extended by citizens to a citizen, springing from affection, and founded in the honest sincerity of the heart. All greeted his return, and hailed him as their deliverer.

But, amidst the expressions of thanks, honours, and congratulations heaped upon him, he remembered that, to an energy above his own, and to a wisdom that controls the destiny of nations, he was indebted for the glorious triumph of his arms. Relieved from the arduous duties of the field, his first concern was to draw the minds of all, in thankfulness and adoration, to that sovereign mercy, without whose aid and inspiring counsel, vain are all earthly efforts. The 23d having been appointed a day of public thanksgiving for the happy deliverance which had just been effected, he repaired to the cathedral. The church and altar were splendidly adorned, and more than could obtain admission had crowded to witness the ceremony. A grateful recollection of his exertions to save the country was cherished by all; nor did the solemnity of the occasion even here restrain a manifestation of their regard, or induce them to withhold the honour so nobly earned. Children, robed in white, and representing the different states, were employed in strewing the way with flowers. In the centre of the grand square a triumphal arch was erected, supported by six columns. On the right, in front of the arch, was a young lady representing Justice, and on the left another, representing Liberty. Under the arch were two young children, each on a pedestal, holding a crown of laurel.

As the general passed under the arch, he received the crowns of laurel, and proceeded to the church, where he was met by the reverend administrator of the diocese. Addressing him in a strain of pious eloquence, the clergyman entreated him to remember that his

splendid achievements, which were echoed from every tongue, were to be ascribed to Him, to whom all praise was due. "Let the votary of blind chance deride our credulous simplicity; let the cold-hearted atheist look up for the explanation of such important events to the mere concatenation of human causes; to us, the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the hearts of men, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences. Whatever be his intermediate agents, still on the secret orders of his all-ruling providence depend the rise and prosperity, as well as the decline and downfall of empires. From his lofty throne above, he moves every scene below; now curbing, now letting loose the passions of men; now infusing his own wisdom into the leaders of nations; now confounding their boasted prudence, and spreading upon their councils a spirit of intoxication, and thus executing his uncontrollable judgments on the sons of men, according to the dictates of his own unerring justice." He concluded his impressive address, by presenting the general with a wreath of laurel, woven for the occasion, and which he desired him to accept, as "the prize of victory, and the symbol of immortality."

General Jackson, accepting the pledge presented by the reverend prelate as a mark of distinguished favour, returned him a reply no less impressive than the address he had received. It was in these words: "Reverend Sir,—I receive, with pleasure, the symbolical crown which piety has prepared. I receive it in the name of the brave men who have so effectually seconded my exertions for the preservation of the

country—they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

“For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country, is the greatest blessing that Heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few tears should cloud the smiles of our triumph, and not a cypress leaf be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite enjoyment.

“I thank you, reverend sir, most sincerely, for the prayers which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates for our beloved country be first heard; and may mine for your individual prosperity, as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favourably received—the prosperity, the wealth, the happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants.”

The general was then conducted in, and seated near the altar, when the organ and church ceremonies commenced, and inspired every mind with a solemn reverence for the occasion. These being ended, he retired to his quarters, to renew a system of defence which should ensure entire safety, and ward off any future danger that might arise. Generals Coffee and Carroll were instructed to resume the position they had occupied prior to the 23d of December above the city; while the rest of the troops were arranged at different points, where necessity seemed most to require it, and where they might be convenient for action on the first appearance of danger.

The enemy, mortified at their unexpected disaster,

determined to obtain some advantage, however slight, in some measure to counterbalance their disgrace; and for this purpose, made a second attack on Fort Bowyer. This fort was still defended by Major Lawrence, with three hundred and sixty men. On the 8th of February, the whole British force commenced the attack, both by land and water. Making their approaches on the land side with the greatest caution, on the morning of the 11th everything was ready to attack and carry the place. Lawrence, seeing that it would only be madness any longer to resist a force at least twenty times his number, then agreed to a capitulation, and the fort was surrendered.

On the 13th of March, an express reached headquarters, with despatches from the war department, announcing the conclusion of a peace between Great Britain and the United States. A similar communication was shortly afterwards received by General Lambert from his government, and on the 19th military operations by the two armies entirely ceased. It was at this time that General Jackson was fined in the sum of one thousand dollars for contempt of court—an event which has already been adverted to.

It was now indispensable to hasten the necessary arrangements to relieve from the toils of the field those brave men who had so long been struggling in their country's defence. Previously to breaking up his camp, he addressed his army, and declared the high sense he entertained of those who had toiled with him in the field, and who, by perseverance and fidelity, had obtained safety for their country, and honour for themselves. This address ought to be read, preserved,

and cherished, in every country of the world: it is as follows:

“The major-general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required of Major-Generals Carroll and Thomas, and Brigadier-General Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

“The major-general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the president of the United States to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed in flattering terms, through the honourable the secretary of war.

“In parting with those brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labours and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding-general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought. In what terms can he bestow suitable praise or merit, so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation, exclaim—‘These are the saviours of their country—these the patriot soldiers who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors



Jackson's Farewell Address to the Army at New Orleans.

of Europe!" With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valour did you display in the day of battle! You have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish.

"Possessing those dispositions which equally adorn the citizen and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes which render life so dear—full of honour, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When

participating, in the bosoms of your families, the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight! Who, that never experienced your sufferings, will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, and your days of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country which you have so eminently contributed to save.

“Continue, fellow-soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment which have so ennobled your character.

“While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings towards those brave companions who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardour and patriotism have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions to provide the means of victory! The recollection of their exertions, and of the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title, or the splendour of wealth can bestow.

“What happiness is it to the commanding general, that, while danger was before him, he was, on no occasion, compelled to use towards his companions in arms either severity or rebuke! If, after the enemy

had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow-soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist; blended, alas! with regret, that disease and war should have ravished from us so many worthy companions. But the memory of the cause in which they perished, and of the virtues which animated them while living, must occupy the place where sorrow would claim to dwell.

“Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general’s thanks is feeble, but the gratitude of a country of freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.”

The Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi troops then took their departure; and General Gaines being invested with the command of the southern department, General Jackson soon left New Orleans for Nashville. The good wishes and friendship of the people followed him; and he carried with him a consciousness of having done his duty. A tedious journey of eight hundred miles brought him to Nashville, where an immense concourse was collected, to greet his return, and welcome his arrival. They had long known him as among the number of their best and most respectable citizens; but now curiosity had a new incentive. Until now, they had not beheld him as one, who, to protect his country, knew no difficulty too great to be encountered,—who, by his firmness, and unconquerable perseverance amidst surrounding dangers, had shielded her from foreign and intestine



Return to Nashville.

foes. An elegant address, drawn up and delivered by Mr. Grundy, welcomed his return. Having received this further display of public confidence, the more grateful because from those who were his acquaintances, neighbours and friends, he returned home, to enjoy that repose, to which, for eighteen months, he had been a stranger.

Thus did General Jackson put an end to the second war with Great Britain, and return to his home. Taking into consideration the comparative strength of the two armies, and the comparative loss, there is no battle on the pages of history which will compare with that of New Orleans. It was this battle that crowned the military career of Andrew Jackson! It was this battle that gave him a fame and reputation imperishable in all future time. And now that his

name and his acts have become the property of his country, the voice of emulation and discord is hushed for ever—that full justice will be done him, which in his life may have been partially withheld. His conduct as a soldier on the field of New Orleans, entitles him to a place in no way inferior to the best general of the age. The memory of that battle will be perpetual; together with Yorktown, and Monmouth, and Bunker Hill—Waterloo, Austerlitz, and Jena—Marathon and Thermopylæ, it will go down to the latest posterity.

“To Jackson’s fame, the honour of two successful wars may be added. Few, indeed, have had the same duties to perform in the service of their country—and none have discharged them with more personal credit to themselves and to the nation. He has never had the charge of cowardice imputed to him, in the times of the highest political excitement—he has never been charged with an ambition which was irreconcilable with the best interests of his country. Like the immortal Washington, when he had finished the work of doing battle for the republic, he retired to the scenes of private and domestic life, until called on by the people to act in a more exalted sphere. It has never been imputed to him, that any other motive impelled him than an honest and patriotic desire to serve the sacred cause of freedom—to maintain and perpetuate those principles of government which had their origin in the dawn of the revolution. Honest, patriotic, brave—he was ever ready to draw the sword from the scabbard when duty called him, and as willing to return it when the day of duty was done. The fame

of the soldier, which in his case was exalted, was never used for purposes of personal aggrandizement, or popular promotion. Generous to a fault, courteous and agreeable, he gained with the soldiery an influence, which, with an evil mind, he could have converted to the lasting injury of his country. He shared with them their wants and privations—was a friend—their companion—in a word, their regard and affection for him was unbounded.”*

* Wright's Eulogy.





CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEMINOLE WAR.



HE war-drum was destined soon again to summon General Jackson to the fields of Florida. He was only allowed a short season for repose. He arrived at Nashville on the 15th of May, 1815. Some time previous to his arrival he received a message from

Washington, asking him to proceed to that place, and lend his aid in the organization of a peace establishment in the army. His immediate compliance was impossible, on account of indispensable duties devolving upon him in the district under his command. It was necessary for him to return "to his own fields and his own pursuits, to cherish his plantation, to care for his servants, to enjoy the affection of the most kind and devoted wife, whom he respected with the gentlest deference, and loved with an almost miraculous tenderness.

"And there he stood, like one of the mightiest forest trees of his own west, vigorous and colossal, sending its summit to the skies, and growing on its native soil in wild and inimitable magnificence, careless of beholders. From all parts of the country he received appeals to his political ambition, and the severe modesty of his well-balanced mind turned them all aside. He was happy in his farm, happy in seclusion, happy in his family, happy within himself."*

But his country still required his services. The government decided that ten thousand men should constitute the peace establishment; and the whole country was divided into two military departments,—the north and the south. Major-General Jackson was appointed commander-in-chief of the southern division. He accepted the command and established his head quarters at Nashville, where he received many tokens of the gratitude and respect of his fellow-citizens. The legislature of Tennessee voted him the

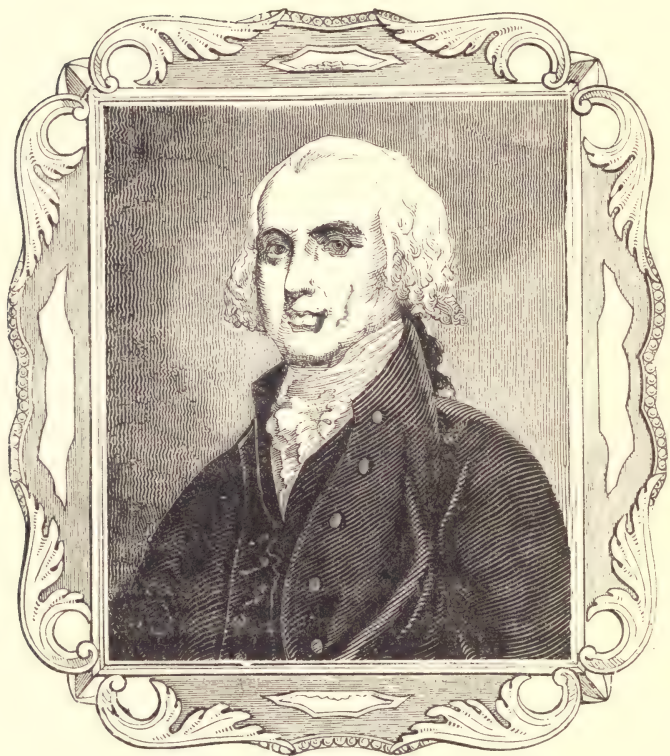
* Bancroft's Eulogy.

thanks of the state, and presented to him a gold medal ; at the same time presenting elegant swords to his compatriots, Generals Coffee and Carroll.

Towards the end of the year 1815, General Jackson, for the first time since the declaration of war against Great Britain, repaired to the national seat of government. As he passed along through the cities and towns which he had helped to defend from destruction, he was everywhere welcomed with joy, and received with that marked attention which a grateful and an admiring people bestow upon a public benefactor.

Although he deprecated all parade and ostentatious show, yet he found it impossible to avoid a reciprocation of the civility and hospitality which he everywhere met. When he arrived at Washington, he was received by President Madison with that dignified cordiality which always distinguished the fathers of our republic. He saw with pain the barbarous marks left by the British under Ross. He saw the ruins of the capitol, the President's house, and the other public buildings, and his bosom was filled with feelings of heart-felt gratitude when he remembered that he had been selected by Providence as the instrument to prevent the same signs of desolation from appearing in New Orleans.

"At all the public parties which the general attended, at Washington, at Georgetown, at Alexandria, and other places in the neighbourhood, he showed that, though in time of war a soldier must be a lion to his enemies, he could, in time of peace, be a lamb to his friends ; that he could smooth '*the wrinkled front*' of the soldier, and enjoy the '*lulling tune of the lute.*' At



Madison.

the table, he could enjoy the luxuries it afforded, with the elegance of the gentleman—at a levee, or a drawing-room, he could repay the civilities he received—and in the ball-room, could, if he chose, display the refined accomplishments of the courtier. Mrs. Jackson accompanied her husband to Washington; and everywhere received that distinguished respect which her own merit, as well as admiration for the hero of New Orleans, induced every one to bestow.

"But amidst the fascinating blandishments of refined society, and the alluring charms of elegant amusements, he never forgot his duty to his countrymen. More than one-half of one of the largest countries of the world, in point of territory, had been assigned to his command. Though the olive-branch of peace waved over his country, where the clarion of war had long assailed the ears of his countrymen, he never remitted his exertions to secure, in time of peace, by efficient regulations and necessary establishments, the rights and blessings which he had defended by the sword."*

Accordingly, in the early part of the year 1816, he repaired to New Orleans, in order so to station the few troops under his command as completely to defend the southern border of his district from the inroads of savages, and the depredations of whites. It would be useless to attempt to describe the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed back to New Orleans. He was entering a city which he had saved from total destruction, and he was received by men whose lives he had defended, by fathers who owed to him the existence of their children, by the wealthy whose property he had preserved, and by wives and daughters whose honour he had protected. No wonder, then, that the whole population strove each to excel his neighbour in warmth and hospitality. His reception was equal to that accorded to Washington on his first tour after the revolution, and that of La Fayette, when he returned to visit the land in whose defence he had so materially aided. But General Jackson was not on a tour of

* Civil and Military History of Jackson.



Jackson's visit to New Orleans.

pleasure. He had duties to perform. The suffering health of the soldiery called for his care, and the division of the south was threatened by the Seminole Indians in Florida, aided again by the Spanish authorities. He was aware that the only way to restrain their barbarity, or to punish them when the offence was committed, was to station a suitable force on their borders, under the command of an intelligent and tried officer. The troops were accordingly removed to the Alabama territory, and stationed along the boundary

of Florida in small forts, having every convenience, and designed especially to favour their health.

Jackson's next care was to secure to the United States the land he had won from the Indians. For this purpose, he entered into a negotiation with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek tribes. Though these lands had been obtained by conquest, after a sanguinary war, brought on, as we have seen, by the savages themselves, and afterwards ceded to the United States by a treaty with them, in which they acknowledged their gratitude for being permitted to retain any territory ; yet, to pacify them completely, and to extinguish their claim to the lands for ever, General Jackson engaged, in behalf of his government, and with the advice and consent of that government, to pay to the Creeks ten thousand dollars a year for ten years, and to the Cherokees ten thousand dollars a year for eight years. This measure, strongly evincing the moderation and good feeling of the American government towards the natives, was gladly acquiesced in by them, and they ever after considered General Jackson their warmest friend.

He then repaired to Huntsville, in Mississippi, when by order of the government he published an order, enjoining all citizens of the United States, to abstain from encroachments upon Indian lands, and ordering such as had settled on them to remove within a limited number of days. This injunction, though severe upon those who had occupied such lands through misapprehension, yet was required by that justice and equity which the government has always exercised towards the Indian tribes.

It was during the autumn of 1816, that the ladies of South Carolina, his native state, presented to General Jackson, through Colonel Hayne and Major Gadsden, a splendid silver vase, as a manifestation of their respect. The vase was elevated on a pedestal, having figures and inscriptions attached to it, emblematical of the country's glory, and that of him for whom it was designed. Upon one side of it, there was a striking representation of the battle of New Orleans, and an inscription, "Eighth of January, 1815", and upon the other, "Presented by the ladies of South Carolina to Major-General Andrew Jackson." This present was peculiarly grateful to the feelings of the general, coming, as it did, from the ladies of his native state, the worthy descendants of those matrons, whose benevolence to their countrymen during the revolution will never be forgotten.

In October, 1816, General Jackson returned to his head quarters at Nashville, where he occupied himself with his domestic concerns, and in regulating and perfecting the police of his army. It was not long, however, until he was again called to face the enemies of his country.

The whole of the Floridas at this time belonged to Spain; but the authority of that government was confined almost exclusively within the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, where small garrisons were maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves, found an asylum in the territory. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extended to the southern

limits of the United States, inhabited those provinces. These different hordes of people connected together, disregarding on the one side the authority of Spain, and protected on the other by an imaginary line separating Florida from the United States, violated the laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, practised various frauds on the revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on the peaceable citizens of the United States, which their proximity enabled them to perpetrate.

In 1817, Amelia Island was invaded by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding one hundred and fifty in number, and wrested from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there. This band of pirates and smugglers held the island thus gained for several months, and converted it into a port of entry, through which they smuggled their goods into the United States. During that time, but one effort was made by the Spaniards to dislodge them, which, by its failure, clearly proved how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers, while in possession of the island, as distinctly showed the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed.

Florida had in fact become the theatre of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial governments, in a state of revolution, having no pretensions to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was, in a great measure, derelict, and the object of cupidity to every adventurer. A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over

it, which menaced in its consequences the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States; while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended.

In regard to the United States, the pernicious effects of this unlawful combination were not confined to the ocean. With the Indian tribes, who constituted the effective force in Florida, these adventurers had formed at an early period a connexion, with a view to avail themselves of that force to promote their own objects of accumulation and aggrandizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, particularly to two of them, Nicholls and Woodbine, of Pensacola and Fort Bowyer memory, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. These men, together with other foreign refugees, remained in Florida after the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, and practised upon the savage propensities of the Indians, misrepresenting their claims and titles to lands lying within the United States. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities, and stimulate them to war, which is always attended on their part with the most shocking acts of barbarity, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages. They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment which, according to the rules of warfare practised by the Indians, might justly be inflicted on the savages themselves.

It was incumbent on the United States not to permit the inability of Spain to sustain her authority in the Floridas, to be perverted by foreign adventurers



Monroe.

and savages, to purposes so destructive to the lives of the citizens and the highest interests of the government of the United States. The right of self-defence never ceases. It is among the most sacred, and alike necessary to nations and individuals. The object of the invaders of Amelia Island being distinctly seen, the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, thought it his duty to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. Captain Henly, of the United States

navy, took possession of the island on the 22d of December, 1817.

The combination in Florida for the unlawful purposes stated, the acts perpetrated by that combination, and above all, the incitement of the Indians to massacre American citizens, of every age, and of both sexes, merited a like treatment, and received it.*

After having been driven from Pensacola and the Barrancas by General Jackson, Colonel Nicholls removed to the Apalachicola river, where he established a fort within the limits of Florida, and near St. Mark's. This fort was made an asylum for the base and desperate of every people and nation; all vagrant Indians, fugitive negroes, Spanish renegadoes, British malefactors, outlaws, and pirates, were associated here to foment and breed plots of blood and torture, murder and treason. Nichols retained this post several months after the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, by which peace was proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain. He occupied his time in collecting and training the savages and negroes, and stimulating them to hostilities with the United States. The most numerous occupants of the interior, were the Seminole Indians, originally outcasts from the Creeks, and other Indian tribes. The hostile Creeks, who had been expelled from their lands by General Jackson, together with other fugitives, from the more northern tribes, had united with the Seminoles, under the name of Red-sticks. This name was given to them because, at their principal village of Mickasuky, they had erected a high

* Monroe's second Annual Message.

pole, on which to hang the scalps of murdered American citizens, and painted it red, to denote their thirst for the blood of the whites. Such were the tools which Nicholls, and a few other designing white men, found ready prepared for their hands.

These hostile companies were encouraged by the Spanish authorities, who represented their government as their protector, and the Americans as their enemies, having no wish but to seize their lands and exterminate their race. These garrisons, and the British traders, purchased whatever plunder the Indians could take from the people of Georgia and Alabama, and gave them, in exchange for it, weapons, powder and ball.

As early as September, 1812, the Seminole Indians and negroes, instigated by the Governor of St. Augustine, attacked the defenceless settlers on the St. John's and St. Mary's rivers; on the St. John's, they killed and scalped eight or ten persons; and on the Georgia side of the St. Mary's, they killed and scalped one, and wounded two more. In the same month, an attack was made upon Captain Williams, who, with a non-commissioned officer and nineteen men, was escorting some provision wagons through the state of Georgia. They were assailed by a party of Indians and negroes, to the number of fifty or sixty; who killed the two officers, wounded six men, captured the wagons and carried them to St. Augustine. Thus they continued to make depredations upon the people of the United States, until the arrival of Nicholls and Woodbine, when their operations began to assume more form,

and they afterwards evinced the presence of an active and thinking leader.

The correspondence of Colonel Nicholls with Colonel Hawkins, shows that he did not view the peace concluded between the United States and Great Britain, as putting an end to his operations at his fort, or to his negotiations with the Indians against the United States. In his letter of the 12th of May, 1815, to Colonel Hawkins—a letter that would disgrace a *Vandal*—he exults in the security of his position—prescribes limits to the people of the United States—and threatens with *instant death* every one who shall venture to transgress them. In this letter he says:—
“I have ordered the Indians to stand on the defensive, and have sent them a large supply of arms and ammunition; and told them to put to death, without mercy, any one molesting them. They have consented to wait your answer before they take revenge. But, sir, they are impatient for it, well armed as the whole nation now is, and stored with ammunition and provisions, having a strong hold to retire to, in case of a superior force appearing.

“I am also desired to say to you, by the chiefs, that they do not find that your citizens are evacuating their lands, according to the ninth article of the treaty of peace; but that they were fresh provisioning the forts. They also request me to inform you, that they have signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain, as well as one of commerce and navigation; which, as soon as ratified at home, you shall be made more fully acquainted with.”

Nicholls having established his government, begins



Francis Hillishago.

to think of foreign alliances. He assumes the diplomatist—is converted into a minister plenipotentiary of both parties—makes, in behalf of his subjects, a treaty, offensive and defensive, and a treaty of commerce and navigation with Great Britain, and proceeds to England to obtain their ratification. Francis Hillishago, one of the principal chiefs of the Seminoles, accompanied him; and in the meantime his people were left to themselves; who commanded or governed them is not distinctly known, until the unfortunate Ambrister and Arbuthnot, the one an Englishman and the other a Scotchman, succeeded to the government.

It is, however, well known that these desperadoes were not inactive; that the unfortunate inhabitants of the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama felt the full

weight of the vengeance threatened by Nicholls, and that the Spanish officers beheld with perfect composure these atrocities committed within their own jurisdiction. So far from putting a stop to them, the governor of Pensacola encouraged, and endeavoured to protect them. Early in 1816, General Jackson wrote to him, complaining of this nuisance. The governor, in his answer, dated May 26th, 1816, pretended to deprecate its existence, and to regret his want of authority and means to break it up; promised to write for orders, but hoped that the United States would not violate the neutrality of Spain by attempting to suppress it themselves.

After waiting two months, and the governor of Pensacola still manifesting no symptoms of suppressing the establishment, Colonel Clinch, with a detachment of United States troops, and five hundred friendly Indians, under the command of M'Intosh, were despatched with orders to reduce the negro fort on the Apalachicola. On the approach of their enemy, Nicholls and Woodbine, who had returned from England, exacted an oath from those in the fort, that they would not suffer an American to approach alive; and then giving it up to them, retired and secured their own safety.

To supply Colonel Clinch's forces with munitions and provisions for the siege, two schooners from New Orleans proceeded up the Apalachicola, under convoy of two gun-boats, on the 10th of July, 1816. When near the fort, a watering party of seven men, from the schooners, was surprised by an ambuscade of negroes and Indians; five were killed, one escaped, and one was captured, tarred and feathered, and burnt at the

stake. The gun-boats, having but a twelve-pounder and twenty-five men each, were deemed insufficient by Colonel Clinch to attack the fort, which was defended by about four hundred negroes and Indians, and fortified with twelve pieces of artillery. Their commander, consequently, was cautioned against attempting any offensive operations. Not deterred by this, he warped up sufficiently near to reach it, and commenced firing hot shot. One of the shot entered the principal magazine, and the fort was blown up. The destruction was complete; two hundred and seventy of the enemy were killed; most of the remainder were badly wounded, and only three of the whole number escaped unhurt. An immense quantity of arms and munitions of war, designed for supplying the Indians and negroes with the means of annoying the frontier settlers, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and two chiefs, who had directed the torture of the captured prisoner, were given over to the tender mercies of M'Intosh's Indians. Thus was one of these hordes of savages broken up.*

In East Florida, the war was not so easily ended. This region was under the immediate command of General Gaines, who, on the 30th of October, 1817, received a letter from the war department, which, after directing him to call a detachment of the Georgia militia into service, states "that the assurance of an additional force, the president flatters himself, will at least have the effect of restraining the Seminoles from committing further depredations, and perhaps of inducing them to make reparation for the murders which

*Moore's Indian Wars.

they have committed ; should they, however, persevere in their refusal to make such reparation, it is the wish of the president that you should not, *on that account*, pass the line, and make an attack upon them within the limits of Florida, until you shall have received further instructions from this department. You are authorized to remove the Indians still remaining on the lands ceded by the treaty made by General Jackson with the Creeks."

The assurance of an additional force did not restrain the Indians from committing further depredations, and they manifested no disposition to make the reparation alluded to by the secretary of war. In the fall of 1817, while her husband was absent attending to the business of his farm, the Indians attacked the dwelling-house of Mrs. Garrett, and no resistance being offered, they murdered and scalped her and one of her children, while the youngest, a mere infant, was dashed to pieces on the door-post.

Towards the end of November, a war-party of Seminoles captured an American, and conveyed him immediately to Mickasuky, their principal village, where it appears Francis Hillishago and his family dwelt. "The American, whose name was M'Krimmon, was ordered to be immediately burned to death. The stake was prepared, M'Krimmon, with his head shaved, was bound to it, and wood was piled up about him. When the Indians had finished their dance, and a fire was about to be kindled, a daughter of the chief, named Milly, who had witnessed the preparations with a sad countenance, flew to her father, Hillishago, and upon her knees, begged that he would spare the priso-



Rescue of M'Krimmon.

ner's life; and it was not until, like the celebrated Pocahontas, she showed a determination to perish with him, that her father consented to prolong his life for the present. It was still his intention, if he could not sell the victim for a certain sum, to have carried his former purpose into effect; but on offering him to the Spaniards at St. Mark's, the demanded ransom, seven and a half gallons of rum, was paid for him, and he was transferred to the Spaniards, and afterwards liberated by the Americans at the capture of St. Mark's.

"After Hillishago fell into the hands of the Americans and was hanged, his family, consisting of a wife and several daughters, surrendered themselves to the Americans at St. Mark's. The youngest daughter, Milly, about fourteen years of age, was treated with great attention by all the officers, for having saved

the life of M'Krimmon. She was said to have been very handsome. When M'Krimmon heard of her being among the captives, he went and offered himself to her as her husband. She would not, however, receive him, until satisfied that he was prompted to offer himself from other motives than a sense of the supposed obligation of his life having been saved by her."*

The instructions from the war department, dated October 30th, 1817, did not reach General Gaines until the middle of November, when he immediately issued his orders for the removal of the Creeks still remaining in the ceded territory. He sent an officer to Foultown, an Indian settlement a few miles below Fort Scott, to summon its chief, Hornotlimed or Homattlemico, to repair to the fort and answer for his conduct in not quitting the territory. The Indian returned a haughty refusal, either to appear at the fort or to quit the territory. Major Twiggs being despatched on the next day, with two hundred and fifty men, to bring the chiefs and warriors to Fort Scott, was attacked by the Indians; but he repulsed and put them to flight, after killing four warriors, and wounding a few more. Four days after, the same officer was sent to destroy the town, which he found deserted.

Fort Scott was situated on the Flint river, near its junction with the Chattahoochee. Being in want of provisions and military stores, General Gaines ordered a supply from Mobile. Accordingly, Major Muhlenburg sailed with three vessels for the fort, but when he

* Drake's Book of the Indians.

reached the mouth of the Apalachicola, he was detained by contrary winds, and the sickness of his crew. There were also on board of his vessels, volunteers for the several forts, with their wives and children. On the 30th of November, a party of forty men, under Lieutenant Scott, was sent down the river to their assistance. The boat reached the vessels in safety, and Muhlenburg transferred twenty of the men to his vessels to aid him in working them up the river; and their places being filled by the sick, together with seven women and four children, Scott started to return to the fort. At the mouth of Flint river, the boat was attacked by an ambuscade of Indians under the direction of Hornotlimed, and all were killed, except six soldiers, who escaped to the opposite shore by swimming, and one woman, who was carried off a prisoner. Four little children were taken by the legs and their brains dashed out against the side of the boat. The scalps of the killed were taken to the Mickasuky village, and added to the trophies on the red pole of the Indians. The vessels, retarded by the current and northerly winds, and constantly assailed by strong parties of Indians, were in the greatest peril, when another boat, secured by bulwarks, was sent down to their aid. With this assistance, and a favourable change of wind, the vessels at last reached Fort Scott.

Before the news of the massacre of Lieutenant Scott and his party reached Washington, the secretary of war had despatched three other orders to General Gaines. The first of these, dated December 2d, 1817, remarks: "The state of our negotiations with Spain, and the temper manifested by the principal Eu-



Indians attacking Lieutenant Scott's party.

ropean powers, make it impolitic, in the opinion of the president, to move a force at this time into the Spanish possessions, *for the mere purpose* of chastising the Seminoles for depredations which have heretofore been committed by them." By the second, bearing date the 9th of December, General Gaines was instructed, that

should the Indians appear in force on the Spanish side of the line, and persevere in committing hostilities within the limits of the United States, he was to exercise sound discretion as to the propriety of crossing the line, for the purpose of attacking them and breaking up their towns. The third, dated December 16th, further instructed him, that "should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the president that you consider yourself at liberty to march across the Florida line, and to attack them within its limits, should it be found necessary, unless they should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort. In the last event, you will immediately notify this department." In obedience to this last order, General Gaines entered Florida, and proceeded towards Amelia Island, where a considerable number of the enemy were reported to have established themselves.

On receiving intelligence of the destruction of Lieutenant Scott and his party, the president determined on taking more vigorous measures against the hostile Seminoles. The time had arrived when it was absolutely necessary for the United States to exert their power to put an end to the war. The safety of the people, the supreme, irrevocable law of all nations, demanded that this savage war, carried on by hostile Indians and negroes, and excited by foreign emissaries, who had identified themselves with the savages, be terminated. Accordingly, on the 26th of December, the secretary of war addressed a letter to Major-General Jackson, then at his residence in Nashville, ordering him to repair, with as little delay as possible, to

Fort Scott, and assume the immediate command of the forces in that quarter of the southern division. After stating the number of regulars on whom he could rely to be eight hundred, and that General Gaines had estimated the strength of the enemy to be twenty-seven hundred, he was directed, if, in his opinion, the troops of the United States were too few in number to beat the enemy, to call upon the executives of the adjacent states for additional forces; and to adopt the necessary measures to terminate a conflict which it had ever been the desire of the president, from considerations of humanity, to have avoided, but which was now made necessary by the continued hostility of the Indians. The orders previously given to General Gaines were enclosed, as the rules by which his conduct was to be governed. These orders were received by General Jackson on the 12th of January, 1818.

General Gaines had called upon the executive of Georgia for a reinforcement of militia; but the miserable system of temporary drafting had been adopted; a thousand men had been enlisted for three months; but the delays incident to the movements of militia, and the want of seasonable supplies, had so consumed the time, that their term of service expired before they could be brought into active service, and a second detachment of a thousand men was ordered out to supply their places.

The practice of provisioning troops by contract, instead of a commissariat, which had been adopted as a matter of economy since the commencement of the war in 1812, we have already seen attended with great injury to the troops under General Jackson, in

the prosecution of the Creek war. It was equally injurious to the active services required in the south. The rise in the price of provisions, and the unforeseen difficulties attending their transportation, caused a loss to the contractor; one of his principal agents failed; the provisions were not furnished; the troops were put on short allowance; and Fort Scott was on the point of being abandoned, on account of actual starvation. The sound views of General Jackson on this subject are worthy of notice, as coming from one who experienced all the evils of the system, and who perfectly understood its operation. He remarks, "The mode of provisioning an army by contract is not adapted to the prompt and efficient movement of troops. It may answer in time of peace, where a failure or delay cannot produce any serious ill consequences; but where active operations are necessary, and success dependent on prompt and quick movements, no dependence is to be placed on the contractor. His views are purely mercenary; and where the supplies will not insure a profit, he hesitates not on a failure, never regarding how far it may defeat the best-advised plans of the commander-in-chief. Experience has confirmed me in this opinion, and the recent failure has prompted me again to express it."

Knowing thus the dependence to be placed on militia and army contractors, General Jackson determined rather than trust to the latter, "to subsist on the enemy;" and that he might not be disappointed in the call which he made upon the governor of Georgia for militia, he resolved to carry with him his old fellow-soldiers, the Tennessee volunteers. He

accordingly, lost no time, but immediately issued the following address, exhorting them to resume their armour:—

“Volunteers of Tennessee!—Once more, after a repose of three years, you are summoned to the field. Your country having again need for your services, has appealed to your patriotism, and you have met it promptly. The cheerfulness with which you have appeared to encounter the hardships and perils of a winter’s campaign, affords the highest evidence of what may be expected of you, in the hour of conflict and trial.

“The savages on your borders, unwilling to be at peace, have once more raised the tomahawk to shed the blood of our citizens, and already they are assembled in considerable force, to carry their murderous schemes into execution. Not contented with the liberal policy that has from time to time been shown them, but yielding themselves victims to foreign seducers, they vainly think to assail and conquer the country that protects them. Stupid mortals! They have forgotten too soon the streams of blood their ill-fated policy heretofore cost them. They have forgotten too, that but a short time since, conquered, and almost destroyed, they were only preserved by the mildness and humanity of that country which they now oppose. They must now be taught, that however benevolent and humane that country is, she yet has sacred rights to protect, and will not permit with impunity the butchery of her peaceable and unoffending citizens.

“Brave volunteers!—The enemy you are going to contend with, you have heretofore met and fought.

You have once done it, and can again conquer them. You go not to fight, but to be victorious; remember, then, that the way to prove successful, is not by being inattentive to the first duties of a soldier, but by bearing and executing with cheerfulness the orders of superiors, and being constantly mindful of the obligations you are under to your country and to yourselves. Subordination and attention to discipline are all-important and indispensable; without them, nothing like system can be preserved, and this being wanted, nothing favourable can result. But in you every confidence is reposed. Your general will not believe that brave men, who have so promptly come forth at the call of their country, will withhold their assent to regulations which can alone insure them safety and success. Hardships and dangers are incident to war; but brave men will bear them without murmuring or complaining. Knowing you to be such, no fears are entertained but that every duty imposed on you, will be met with promptness and cheerfulness.

“Your general goes before you to open the way, and prepare for your reception. Confiding in your diligence and exertions, he will expect your arrival at your destined point, without unnecessary delay—led by Colonel Arthur P. Hayne, an officer in whom he has every confidence. This being effected, he will place himself at your head, and with you share the dangers and hardships of the campaign.”

Like the war-horse at the sound of the trumpet, the brave volunteers of Tennessee no sooner heard the voice of their beloved general and companion, calling upon them to follow him, than they bounded to meet



To Arms!

him. At the appointed time, the required number repaired to the rendezvous at Fayetteville, and under the command of Colonel Hayne, inspector-general of the department of the south, took up the line of march for Fort Scott, by the way of Fort Gaines.

On the 16th of January, 1818, the secretary of war wrote to General Gaines, informing him that the honour of the United States required that the war with the Seminoles should be terminated speedily, and with *exemplary punishment* for hostilities so unprovoked; and that orders were issued, directing the war to be carried on within the limits of Florida, should it be necessary to its speedy and effectual termination. These orders, it was presumed, he had received. That as soon as it was known that he had repaired to



Amelia Island, in obedience to them, and it being uncertain how long he might be detained there, the state of things at Fort Scott made it necessary to order General Jackson to take command there. From his known promptitude, it was presumable that his arrival might be soon expected.

A letter from the secretary of war to General Jackson, dated January 29th, 1818, acknowledged the receipt of letters from him of the 12th and 13th of that month; and states that the measures he had taken to bring an efficient force into the field were approved; and it concluded by expressing a confident hope that a speedy and successful termination of the Indian war would follow his exertions.

General Jackson left Nashville on the 22d of January, 1818, and, having made arrangements with Colonel Gibson, his quartermaster-general, for forwarding provisions from New Orleans, he proceeded rapidly towards the seat of war. On the 10th of February, he arrived at Fort Hawkins, and on the 14th, at Hartford in Georgia, where he used every exertion to hasten the movements of the militia called out by the governor. At Fort Early, on the 26th, he put himself at the head of the Georgia militia, who mustered nine hundred bayonets, and some friendly Creeks. With this brigade, he reached Fort Scott on the 9th of March, and the next morning assumed the chief command. He found the troops at the fort in a starving condition, with only one quart of corn to each man, and a few lean cattle. Having bravely determined to subsist on the enemy until the arrival of provisions from New Orleans, he immediately ordered the

cattle to be slaughtered, the provisions distributed to the troops, and the line of march to be taken up at noon.

Here he received a letter from the secretary of war, dated February 6th, informing him of the entire approbation of the president of all the measures he had adopted to terminate the war ; and stating that the honour of the army, as well as the interest of the country, required that it should be terminated as soon as practicable. He was also instructed to restore peace on such conditions as would make it honourable and permanent.

He crossed the Flint river on the 10th of March, and advanced with his army towards the mouth of the Apalachicola. On the 16th, he arrived at Prospect Bluff, the site of the Indian and negro fort which had been blown up by the fire of the American gun-boats, in the month of July, 1817. This Jackson ordered to be rebuilt, designing to use it as a depot for the provisions expected from New Orleans. He called it Fort Gadsden, in honour of one of his aids. General Gaines joined him on his march to Fort Gadsden.

It was the design of General Jackson to provision his posts on the Florida border, by shipping the provisions from New Orleans, and distributing them to the different posts, by means of the rivers which, passing through Florida, communicate with the Gulf of Mexico. This, he well knew, could not be done against the will of the Spanish authorities, without violating the rights of that nation. Fort Crawford being situated on the head waters of the Escambia river, which communicates with the gulf, by the Bay of Pensacola, and



Rebuilding of Fort Gadsden.

cannot be entered without passing the fortress of Barrancas, he wrote to the governor of West Florida, saying, that he would send his provisions for Fort Crawford by that way, and that any interruption in their passage, would be considered as an act of hostility against the United States. The governor demanded duties on the stores, but permitted the vessels containing them to sail past without attempting to interrupt them.

Having completed the necessary arrangements at Fort Gadsden, General Jackson started from that place, on the 26th of March, for the purpose of driving the enemy from the Mickasuky villages. When he had nearly reached these villages, on the 1st of April, he

was joined by the main body of the Tennessee volunteers, who, having heard of the starving condition of the garrisons stationed at Forts Gaines and Scott, had taken a circuitous route through Georgia, to obtain subsistence. As he approached the principal village, his advanced guard had a smart conflict with a party of Indians, who fled as soon as the main body approached. When the army entered the towns, they were found deserted by their inhabitants. The wigwams were burned, the adjacent country reconnoitred, and an abundant supply of corn and cattle obtained. In the council-house of the principal village, Jackson found more than fifty fresh scalps, and in the centre of the town, the old Red-stick standard stood crowned with the scalps, recognised by the hair as those torn from the heads of the unfortunate companions of Lieutenant Scott.

Hearing that a body of five hundred negroes and Indians had approached St. Mark's, and having been refused admittance, had demanded its surrender; and knowing the duplicity of Luengo, the governor, who now pretended friendship for the Americans, while a short time before he had, to the best of his ability, aided and protected their enemies—knowing these things, General Jackson left M'Intosh with his warriors to scour the country in the neighbourhood of the Mickasuky village, and hastened to prevent the surrender of the strong post of St. Mark's to the enemies of the United States. From the moment that the Negro-Indian fort was destroyed, St. Mark's had become the depot and storehouse of the savages. There their councils were held, there they sold their



bloody trophies, torn from murdered Americans, and there they received the instruments and means of future murders. Luengo was the adviser, aider, and protector of the savages, and the friend and coadjutor of Alexander Arbuthnot, a noted instigator of the Indians to hostility. When Jackson appears on the scene, Luengo changes his tone; he declares that he had acted in this way only from policy; and now, from an associate of the Indians, he becomes the friend of the Americans, and evinces a sycophancy which every brave man cannot but despise. He concludes a letter to General Jackson in these words, "May God preserve your excellency, is my prayer. I kiss your excellency's hand, and am your most faithful and obedient servant."*

St. Mark's was now threatened by the hostile Indians and negroes, and the Spanish garrison was unable to defend it against them. It was therefore necessary to occupy it with an American garrison, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Seminoles, who, uncontrolled by Spain, might issue forth at any time, murder the citizens of the United States, and, when closely pursued, fall back upon St. Mark's, their strong hold. Accordingly, General Jackson marched to St. Mark's, took possession of it without the least resistance, and shipped the Spanish authorities and garrison to Pensacola.

It was near St. Mark's that Alexander Arbuthnot was captured. He was a Scotchman by birth, his ostensible occupation that of a trader. He was known

* See the Speech of Mr. Holmes of Massachusetts, in Congress, January, 1819.

to be engaged in an extensive commercial intercourse with the Indians and negroes of East Florida. He sold them arms and ammunition. It was reported to General Jackson that he was the successor of Nicholls; that, knowing of the treaty of Fort Jackson, of the 9th of August, 1814, he had pretended to the Indians that they were not bound by it, but were relieved by the treaty of Ghent; that he had called for succours from the British government; that he was the associate and confidant of the commandant of St. Mark's; and that he had long furnished the Indians with the weapons of destruction. It was also reported that he had a store at the Suwanee villages, and was the owner of a small schooner, by means of which he imported lead and powder from the Bahamas. Considering these grounds sufficient for suspicion, General Jackson put him in close confinement, until he could get an opportunity to inquire further in the matter.

It was here also that two of the principal hostile chiefs were captured. Captain M'Keever, who had brought supplies from New Orleans, had been ordered to cruise near the mouth of the river St. Mark's, at the head of Apalachee bay, in order to intercept any Indians who might endeavour to escape in that direction. By hoisting a British flag, M'Keever succeeded in decoying on board two of the hostile chiefs. One of them, Hornotlimed, was the chief who had commanded at the inhuman murder of Lieutenant Scott and his party. A deed more brutal and savage cannot be found in the annals of Indian warfare. He was hung, not as an enemy, but as a base murderer, marked with every cruelty, and stained with the blood

of women and children. The other chief, Francis Hillishago, was also hung. It was he who was the principal instigator of this war. It was he who went to England with Nicholls, where he had received large presents from the king's stores; but of these he was chiefly defrauded afterwards by the notorious Woodbine, who it seems accompanied him in his travels. He was also presented with the commission of a brigadier general, for his services in the British cause during the American war; so that in executing him, General Jackson did not merely hang an Indian, but a British officer also.

Leaving a small garrison at St. Mark's, General Jackson, on the 9th of April, marched for the Suwanee villages, which lay about one hundred and seven miles to the eastward of St. Mark's. On the 10th, he was rejoined by the friendly Indians under M'Intosh, and overtaken by the rear of the volunteers from Tennessee. On the 16th, as he approached the towns, a party of six mounted Indians was discovered. They immediately fled to the towns and gave the alarm. Jackson arrived there at sunset. The Indians at first made a show of resistance, but fled after eleven of them had been killed. Two prisoners were taken. The next day the villages were destroyed; a considerable quantity of corn and cattle secured, and the adjacent country traversed in pursuit of the enemy. Arbuthnot's schooner was captured at the mouth of the Suwanee river, and employed in transporting the sick and baggage of the army to St. Mark's. On the 18th, Robert C. Ambrister, late a lieutenant of marines in the Bri-

tish service under Nicholls, was captured in the neighbourhood of the villages. Ambrister was accused of leading and inciting the Indians to make war on the Americans, and was detained a close prisoner until the general found an opportunity to examine the evidence on which this accusation rested.

Jackson now thought that he had completely subdued the Indians. He saw their forces divided and scattered, and deemed his presence in that part of the country no longer necessary. He accordingly discharged the Georgia militia and M'Intosh's Indians; and on the 21st of April, with the regular troops and Tennessee volunteers, commenced his return to St. Mark's, where he arrived on the evening of the 25th, having performed a march of one hundred and seven miles in five days, through the swamps and wildernesses of East Florida.

On the next day he convened a special court for the purpose of investigating the charges exhibited against Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister; with instructions to record all the documents and testimony in the several cases, and give their opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, and what punishment (if any) should be inflicted. This court of inquiry was composed of Major-General Gaines) president, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels), four majors, two captains, and a lieutenant, who was appointed recorder. This court continued in session until the night of the 28th, during which time they elicited the following facts with reference to the prisoners.

In June, 1817, Arbuthnot had obtained a power of



attorney from twelve Seminole chiefs, in very general terms, authorizing him to act in the affairs of their nation as he thought proper. He had represented to the Red-sticks, or fugitive Creeks, and induced them to believe, that they would be supported by the British government in a war with the United States for the recovery of their lands. He had written to the British ministry, to their ambassador at Washington, and to the governor-general of the Bahamas, soliciting assistance for this object. In his capacity of trader, he had sold the Indians powder and ball, which might be applied to the purposes of war as well as of hunting. He had induced the Indians to make prisoners of Hambly and Doyle, two Spaniards settled on the Apalachicola, friendly to the Americans, by representing that they were instrumental in bringing upon them the forces of the United States. While the army was on its march from Mickasuky to St. Mark's, Arbuthnot, being at the latter place, wrote a letter to his son, advising him of its approach, and that it was probably destined for Suwanee; and directing him to take the measures necessary to secure his property; to give information to the inhabitants, and advise them, by no means, to attempt to fight the Americans, but to save themselves by an immediate flight.* It was Arbuthnot who endeavoured to instil into the minds of the Indians, hatred and hostilities towards the Americans; it was he who poured the secret poison of discontent into their minds; it was he who awakened the sleeping tiger, and let him loose against American citizens,

* Perkins.

with all his native ferocity whetted by exasperation ; it was he who sharpened with new keenness the edge of the tomahawk ; it was he who used the deluded savages as the instrument of his wicked purposes, as the man who stabs a fellow-being to the heart makes use of the poniard.

Robert C. Ambrister had formerly borne a lieutenant's commission in the British service, under Nicholls and Woodbine, and had remained in the Floridas as a kind of successor and agent to them. He had resided a considerable time at Suwanee, and pursued the same general system of measures in relation to the negroes and Indians as Arbuthnot had done ; though not to the same extent, or in concert with him. When the alarm was given of the approach of the American troops, he put himself at the head of what Indians and negroes he could rally, broke open Arbuthnot's store, and distributed its contents, among which were some powder and ball, to his followers, and attempted to organize a party to go out and fight the Americans.*

The court of inquiry found Arbuthnot guilty of exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States and her citizens, he being a subject of Great Britain, with whom the United States were at peace ; and of aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war. They accordingly sentenced him to be suspended by the neck until he was dead.

They also found Ambrister guilty of aiding, abet-

* Perkins.

ting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war, he being a subject of Great Britain, who were at peace with the United States, and late an officer in the British colonial marines; and also of leading and commanding the lower Creek Indians, in carrying on a war against the United States. They therefore sentenced him to suffer death, by being shot. The members of the court requested a reconsideration of the vote on this sentence; and it being had, they sentenced him to receive fifty stripes on the bare back, and to be confined with a ball and chain, at hard labour, for twelve months.

It is to be remembered that this not being a *court-martial*, had no authority to pronounce sentence on the prisoners; but as a *special court* or a *court of inquiry* to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and advise the commanding general, in such cases as he might require their opinion. Accordingly, General Jackson approved the sentence of the court with regard to Alexander Arbuthnot, and he was hung on the 29th of April. He also approved the first sentence of the court in the case of Robert C. Ambrister, and disapproved its reconsideration. In passing final sentence upon Ambrister, the general remarked:—"It appears from the evidence and pleading of the prisoner, that he, being a subject of Great Britain, did lead and command within the territory of Spain, the Indians, in a war against the United States, those nations being at peace. It is an established principle of the law of nations, that any individual of a nation making war against the citizens of any other nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance, and becomes an outlaw

and pirate. This is the case of Robert C. Ambrister, clearly shown by the evidence adduced." He was accordingly shot on the same day that Arbuthnot was executed.

The trial of these men by a court, and the rejection of its sentence as to Ambrister, by General Jackson, were much complained of at the time of their occurrence; but, in the minds of all thinking men, the justice of their execution cannot admit of a doubt. "They were volunteers in the service of a lawless tribe of savages, whose mode of warfare is an indiscriminate massacre of all ages and sexes. It is right, it is merciful, to inflict on these savages those cruelties which they practise and inculcate. In this, however, it is proper to select the most atrocious and vindictive. To spare the effusion of the blood even of savages, and to effect that security which arises from eminent examples, it is prudent and wise to select those men as objects of retaliation and punishment, who are the most active and successful in practising and inflicting cruelties. Who, then, could have been selected as examples, with more justice and policy, than these two foreigners, who had been taught in the school of humanity, and understood the distresses which their conduct would inflict? The general had a right to execute them without trial. This right is an executive right, and rests in the commanding general. The general had power to execute them without trial, and there was no good reason why they should be tried, except the necessity of ascertaining whether they were in fact concerned in provoking and prosecuting hostilities. Accordingly, a special court was appointed to

ascertain this fact. He asked their opinion with respect to the sentence which should be passed, but he did not delegate to them his absolute right of passing the judgment and sentence which the facts justified. The truth was found by the court, and upon this it was his duty to decide."* The correctness of this decision in the case of Arbuthnot has never been disputed; while, with respect to Ambrister, it is but necessary to remember, that he was a subject of Great Britain, owing temporary allegiance to the king of Spain, but not to Bowlegs or Hillishago, and that by aiding savages to carry on war against the United States, he violated the British treaty, the Spanish treaty, the law of nature, the law of nations, and the laws of war, and justly suffered death.

These proceedings of General Jackson were justified by the congress of the United States and the parliament of Great Britain. The Spanish government complained, but were silenced by the arguments of Mr. Adams, then secretary of state.

On the 29th of April, General Jackson returned to Fort Gadsden. There he received intelligence that some of the fugitive Seminoles had escaped to West Florida, and were collecting in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Pensacola; and there he determined on the punishment of all the aiders and abettors of the Indians in the war. On the 5th of May he wrote to the secretary of war, from Fort Gadsden, and gave him a detailed account of his operations in the war, and also informed him of the exe-

* See the Speech of Mr. Holmes in the House of Representatives, January, 1819.



John Quincy Adams.

cution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. In this despatch, he says, "I hope the execution of these two unprincipled villains will prove an awful example to the world, and convince the government of Great Britain, as well as her subjects, that certain, if slow, retribution awaits those unchristian wretches, who, by false promises, delude and excite an Indian tribe to all the horrid deeds of savage war. Previous to my leaving Fort Gadsden, I had occasion to address a communication

to the governor of Pensacola, on the subject of permitting supplies to pass up the Escambia river to Fort Crawford. This letter, with another from St. Mark's, on the subject of some United States' clothing, shipped in a vessel in the employ of the Spanish government to that post, I now enclose, with his reply. The governor of Pensacola's refusal to my demand, cannot but be viewed as a hostile feeling on his part, particularly in connexion with some circumstances, reported to me from the most unquestionable authority. It has been stated, that the Indians at war with the United States, have free access into Pensacola; that they are kept advised, from that quarter, of all our movements; that they are supplied from thence with ammunition and munitions of war; and that they are now collecting in a body to the amount of four or five hundred warriors, in that town; that inroads from thence have been lately made on the Alabama, in one of which eighteen settlers fell by the tomahawk. These statements compel me to make a movement to the west of the Apalachicola; and, should they prove correct, Pensacola must be occupied by an American force, and the governor treated according to his deserts, or as policy may dictate. I shall leave strong garrisons in Forts St. Mark's, Gadsden, and Scott, and in Pensacola, should it be necessary to possess it. It becomes my duty to state it as my confirmed opinion, that so long as Spain has not the power or will to enforce the treaties by which she is solemnly bound to preserve the Indians within her territory at peace with the United States, no security can be given to our southern frontier, without occupying a cordon of

posts along the shore. The moment the American army retires from Florida, the war-hatchet will be again raised, and the same scenes of indiscriminate massacre, with which our frontier settlers have been visited, will be repeated, so long as the Indians within the territory of Spain are exposed to the delusion of false prophets and the poison of foreign intrigue; so long as they can receive ammunition and munitions of war from pretended traders and Spanish commandants, it will be impossible to restrain their outrages. The burning of their towns, and destroying of their stock and provisions, will produce but temporary embarrassments. Resupplied by Spanish authorities, they may concentrate and disperse at will, and keep up a lasting and predatory warfare against the United States, as expensive to our government as harassing to our troops. The savages therefore must be made dependent on us, and cannot be kept at peace without being persuaded of the certainty of chastisement being inflicted on the commission of the first offence. I trust, therefore, that the measures which have been pursued will meet with the approbation of the president of the United States; they have been adopted in pursuance of your instructions, and under a firm conviction that they alone were calculated to secure peace and security to the Georgia frontier."

On the 10th of May, General Jackson, having left strong garrisons in Forts St. Mark's, Scott, and Gadsden, crossed the Apalachicola river about forty miles above the latter fort, and on the 22d arrived at the Escambia, a short distance above Pensacola, with twelve hundred men. He notified the governor of his

approach, who, in answer, ordered him to retire from Florida ; and if he did not, that he would use force to repel him. The governor of Pensacola did not apply force to prevent Nicholls from occupying his town ; he did not use force to prevent Indians and negroes, hostile to the United States, from entering Pensacola. The general, hearing that some hostile Indians had received provisions in Pensacola, and had escaped across the bay, disregarded the remonstrance of the Spanish governor, and determined to take the town. His obligations to the United States compelled him to do so. Spain was expressly obliged, by treaty, to restrain by force the Indians within her territory from committing hostilities against the United States. The Spanish officers commanding in Florida, did not restrain the Indians from war, but aided and abetted them in it ; it then became the duty of Spain to have displaced and superseded those officers, and to have confided to others the command of Florida, who would have preserved the neutral character of that territory. Spain did not displace or supersede them. In order, therefore, to prevent the perpetration of future atrocities by Indians, negroes, and foreign emissaries and impostors, it became necessary to occupy St. Marks, Pensacola, and the Barrancas, with detachments of troops from the United States, who would defend these fortresses, not from the lawful authority of Spain, but from unlawful seizure and occupation by enemies of the United States, consisting of Indians, negroes, and the villains from other countries, who were stimulating these savages to every species of barbarous warfare on our exposed frontier.

On the 24th, he entered the city and took possession of it without resistance, the governor and all the military force having retired to the Barrancas on his approach. The next day the Barrancas was invested, and, after a bombardment, which continued till the evening of the 27th, was surrendered to the United States. The Spanish authorities were shipped to Havana, and the government of the United States extended over the captured posts, until they should be restored by the proper authority to Spain.

General Jackson then scoured the whole territory in search of the fugitives, and having made every necessary arrangement for the security of the settlers, discharged his Tennessee volunteers, left General Gaines in command, and returned to the Hermitage near Nashville. Three months afterwards, St. Augustine, the only remaining Spanish fortress in Florida, was captured by General Gaines, in obedience to General Jackson's orders, and the whole province was thus brought into the military possession of the United States. Thus the Seminole war ended in the conquest of Florida.

The war being over and the Indians dispersed, the president of the United States convened his cabinet council, and proposed for their consideration the following questions :—

“1. Shall Pensacola be retained, risking all consequences at home and abroad ?

“2. Shall the captured Spanish posts be restored, and General Jackson put on his trial before a court-martial, for a breach of orders and unofficerlike conduct ?

“3. Shall the posts be restored and the acts of General Jackson disavowed, at the same time justifying the motive?”

The council decided that the posts should be restored, requiring of the Spanish government that they should be garrisoned by a force sufficient to enable them to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty of 1795, and that General Jackson should not be tried by a court-martial. In pursuance of this advice Pensacola and the Barrancas were immediately restored, and St. Mark's ordered to be given up, whenever a Spanish force, apparently competent to its defence, should appear to take possession.*

In thus advising the president, his council merely followed the suggestion of General Jackson, who, in a letter to the secretary of war, dated June 2d, 1818, said: “The Seminole war may now be considered as at a close; tranquillity is again restored to the southern frontier of the United States; and as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the Gulf of Mexico, America has nothing to apprehend from either foreign or Indian hostilities. The immutable principles of self-defence justified the occupancy of the Floridas, and the same principles will warrant the American government in holding it, until such time as Spain can guaranty, by an adequate military force, the maintaining of her authority within the colony.”

Shortly after the return of General Jackson to Nashville, he resigned his commission in the army. He visited Washington in January, 1819, while Con-

* Perkins.

gress was in session, and while his transactions in Florida were being examined by that body.

Soon after the assembling of Congress, in December, 1818, the president had communicated to them all the papers relating to the Seminole war. They were referred to committees in each house. The committee in the Senate consisted of five members, three of whom made a report, towards the close of the session, censuring the conduct of the general, while the other two presented a minority report, justifying him in all that he had done. The lateness of the period at which the report was made, prevented the action of the Senate upon it. In the House of Representatives the papers were submitted to the military committee, consisting of seven members. Of this committee, four agreed to report a resolution of censure to the House, while the other three presented a statement approving the general's conduct, and concluding with a declaration that he deserved the thanks of his country. After a long and exciting debate on the resolutions offered by the committee, the resolutions of censure were rejected, the report of the committee disagreed too, and the general's conduct approved by a vote of one hundred and seven to sixty-three.

His course was also sustained by the president, and by a majority of his council. That part of it relating to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, was acknowledged to be right by the British Parliament. The Spanish government complained; but the answer of Mr. Adams, the secretary of state, fully convinced that power of the justice of the course pur-

sued by Jackson. He sustained his opinion on the ground that, by the treaty of 1795, Spain had expressly stipulated to restrain by force, if necessary, the Indians within the limits of her territories from committing acts of hostility against the citizens of the United States. He then produced a series of undisputed facts, which clearly proved that the Spanish authorities in Florida, so far from regarding this stipulation, had instigated and encouraged the Indians and negroes within their limits to the most barbarous acts of murder and rapine; had furnished them with the means of annoyance, and protected foreign miscreants in aiding the savages in their work of destruction. This, Mr. Adams claimed, was a full justification to the Spanish government for every measure which the United States had adopted in relation to the Floridas, and would warrant any further reprisals which the safety of the citizens of the latter country might require; and the secretary concluded with demanding satisfaction for the heavy expenses incurred in prosecuting the Seminole war, and the exemplary punishment of the Spanish officers under whose authority these events had taken place. Arbuthnot and Ambrister being foreign emissaries, and the principal instigators of the massacres committed by the savages, their being put to death by an American officer, Mr. Adams contended, furnished no ground of complaint on the part of Spain, though done within her jurisdiction.*

When the congressional investigation had, as we have seen, terminated favourably to General Jackson,

* Perkins.

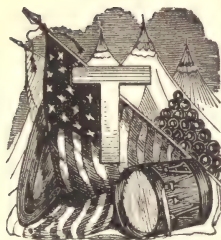
he visited the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, before his return to Tennessee. Throughout the whole of this journey he was everywhere received by the people with enthusiastic acclamations, and many other marks of popular feeling, and a nation's gratitude, were conferred upon him.





CHAPTER XVII.

JACKSON, AT THE HERMITAGE.



THE nation being at peace with all the world; the Indian tribes having been reduced to submission; peace and tranquillity reigning throughout the land, General Jackson gladly retired again to the Hermitage, to engage in his favourite rural occupations, and enjoy the society of his wife and beloved

relatives. For several years he there lived a life of uninterrupted quiet and domestic happiness. He loved his wife with a romantic attachment, of which none but a few persons of his enthusiastic character are susceptible. Such were the fascinating powers of his conversation, such the cheerfulness of his fireside, and the warmth of his heart, that, though he was but a citizen, his house was the most public one in Tennessee.

But his quiet and repose were soon destined to be disturbed. Though he desired not the emoluments of office, yet, in a country like the United States, it was impossible for one who had evinced the sterling qualities which adorned Jackson, to remain long in retirement.*

In March, 1821, Florida having been ceded by Spain to the United States, he was appointed its governor by President Monroe, and he proceeded to the discharge of the important and delicate duties, which consequently devolved upon him. The acceptance of this appointment placed him in a situation of more than ordinary civil responsibility. Clothed with undefined powers, he was entrusted with the entire executive, military, and judicial administration of that region. In this new station, however, as in every other, he manifested no unwillingness to "assume the responsibility." The very difficulty and danger of the situation had its influence in impelling him to accept it. In a letter written during his residence in Florida, he speaks in this manner of the powers entrusted to

*Cartwright and Irvin's Eulogies.

him. "I am clothed with powers which no one under a republic ought to possess, and which I trust will never again be given to any man. Nothing will give me more happiness than to learn that Congress, in its wisdom, shall have distributed them properly, and in such a manner as is consonant to our earliest and deepest impressions. Yet, as I hold these powers by the authority of an act of Congress, it becomes my duty to discharge the sacred trust imposed upon me according to the best of my abilities, even though the proper exercise of the powers given might involve me in heavy personal responsibilities. It has been my misfortune to be thus circumstanced in my various relations as a public servant. Yet I never have, nor ever will I shrink from the discharge of my public duties from any apprehension of personal responsibility."

Nor was this responsibility imaginary. By the terms of the treaty of cession, all the archives and public papers were to be given up with the province. Four documents relating to the rights of property in West Florida were withheld by Governor Cavalla, claiming that they did not come within the meaning or intention of the treaty. After a specific demand, Governor Jackson sent an armed force to seize the papers, and bring Don Cavalla before him, to answer for a contempt of his authority. On his persisting in a refusal either to give up the papers or appear before the governor, Cavalla was taken out of bed, carried to Jackson's quarters, and by him committed to prison. The papers having been soon after found, Cavalla was immediately set at liberty.

A contest of a similar character took place in East Florida. Mr. Worthington had been commissioned by Governor Jackson to act as governor of that part of the territory during his absence in the western part. On the 2d of October, Mr. Worthington finding that some papers belonging to that province were about to be sent to Havana, under the direction of his superior, caused them to be seized and secured. The dilatory proceedings and troublesome character of the Spaniards who had anything to do with the transfer of the government, occasioned much difficulty to the American authorities.

General Jackson published the facts relating to the seizure of the papers and the detention of Cavalla. Seven of Don Cavalla's officers, who had remained in Florida after its cession as private citizens, published a statement contradicting some of the facts which Jackson had made public, and containing, as he apprehended, some disrespectful expressions and sentiments calculated to excite in the Floridians, discontent with his government. This publication was answered by a proclamation from the governor, ordering them to quit the territory in five days.

For the purpose of administering justice, the territory was divided into two counties, without regard to the original division of East and West Florida; the country west of the Suwanee River constituted one county, by the name of Escambia; and the territory east of that river another, denominated St. John's.*

Jackson's commission expiring at the end of the

* Perkins.

session of the Senate in 1822, and he having accomplished the organization of the territorial government of Florida under the act of congress, declined a re-appointment, and returned to Tennessee.

No sooner had he returned to Tennessee, than he was nominated by the legislature of that state as a candidate for the office of president of the United States. They urged in his favour the important military services which he had performed, and the honour which thereby redounded to the country; his knowledge and known ability to execute the laws, and his unshrinking firmness in the execution of his duty. This nomination of the legislature of Tennessee was repeated by immense assemblages of citizens in several other states; and from his great popularity in the south and west, as well as with the whole army of the United States, his election in 1824 was confidently expected.

In 1823, President Monroe offered him the appointment of minister to Mexico, which he declined, not only because he desired no office of emolument or honour, but because he did not wish to countenance, by his presence at the court of the sovereign of Mexico, the substitution of a monarchy in the place of a republic, nor the means by which it had been effected. Other reasons also concurred to induce him to decline the appointment. Incessant toil in the various duties of his command—exposure to the hardships of military service in the south, and especially in the swamps and morasses of Florida—had undermined his constitution, which had never, at any time, been very strong; and retirement seemed to him as needful to the preserva-

tion of his own life, as to the happiness of those who had so long been denied the pleasure of his society.

He did not deem it inconsistent with this feeling to accept the office of senator in Congress, which was again, in the autumn of 1823, conferred on him by the legislature of Tennessee; for this honourable and comparatively easy service would still leave him, for the greater portion of the year, an inmate of the Hermitage.* In December, 1823, he took his seat in the highest branch of the legislative department of the government. He voted for the tariff of 1824, which was intended as a protection for American manufacturers. It raised the duties on many articles of imports from foreign countries coming in competition with articles manufactured in the United States. It was the result of the combined efforts of the advocates of protection to domestic industry throughout the Union, added to the recommendation of the president, and the support of members of Congress, principally from the northern, middle, and western states. The bill was debated for weeks in both houses, and called forth the first talent in Congress. The most strenuous opposition was made by the members from the southern states. The majority in its favour in the Senate was but four, of whom General Jackson was one.†

Jackson's popularity with the people of the United States was shown at the presidential election in the autumn of 1824, when he received a greater number of electoral votes than either of his competitors. There were four candidates for the presidency, among

* Butler's Eulogy.

† Statesman's Manual.

whom the electoral votes were divided as follows:— For Jackson, ninety-nine ; for Adams, eighty-four ; for Crawford, forty-one ; and for Clay, thirty-seven. Neither of the candidates having a majority of the whole number of electors, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives, where, according to the provision of the constitution, the decision is made by states, the representation from each state having one vote, and a majority of all the states being necessary to a choice.

The House, being restricted in its choice to the three highest candidates, Clay was thrown out ; but though not ostensibly a candidate before the representatives, yet he held the destinies of the nation in his hands. The states by which he had been supported, could decide the election as they chose. By uniting with the South, they would unquestionably bring in General Jackson ; and by joining the East, they would as certainly effect the election of Adams.

The course of Mr. Clay in this contest has been severely animadverted upon by his opponents. It seems that he considered General Jackson, though a distinguished military officer, as destitute of the requisite talents and qualifications for the presidency ; that it was hazardous to the liberties of the country to elevate a person to the chief magistracy, the duties of which are mostly of a civil nature, merely because he had been a successful general. That on the other hand, he considered Mr. Adams as possessing, in a high degree, the requisite qualifications ; that his talents were of the first order, and his life had been spent in the proper school for the office. With these



Henry Clay.

views, or perhaps others, Mr. Clay determined to support Mr. Adams. That this determination was the result of collusion between them, is strongly denied; but if it was not, Mr. Clay undoubtedly committed a capital error in accepting the appointment of secretary of state, which was conferred on him, immediately on the accession of Adams to the presidency.

Mr. Adams was elected on the first ballot by the House of Representatives; he receiving the votes of thirteen states, Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four.*

General Jackson submitted, as he should have done, to the decision of the constitutional authorities

* Perkins.

of his country ; and his conduct was marked, on that occasion, with that propriety and dignity so characteristic of him. He was present, with the other members of the Senate, in the hall of the representatives, on the 4th of March, 1825, when the president elect delivered his inaugural address and took the oath of office. After delivering his address, and binding himself by the oath of office faithfully to execute his duties, and to defend the constitution, Mr. Adams descended from the platform to receive the congratulations of his friends. It was then that General Jackson, stepping out, as no other man could have done, was the first to shake hands with and congratulate the newly-made president, the person who had just been inaugurated in the office which the free voice of the people of the land would have bestowed upon Jackson.

The pride of Tennessee was aroused at the injustice, or the seeming injustice, by which her favourite son was excluded from the presidency. From the formation of her constitution, he had been one of her most cherished jewels. She had trusted him always, and he had never betrayed her. She had named him for the chief magistracy—he had a plurality of votes—and yet one who had received many less was preferred by those on whom devolved the constitutional alternative, in the failure of a choice by the people. With a spirit worthy of a sovereign state, she again uttered her unabated confidence in him, and manifested her displeasure at the treatment he had received, by renominating him for the first office in the gift of the peo-

ple by general acclamation.* His character cannot be better exhibited than by briefly presenting the grounds upon which his claims were now pressed upon the American people, to the high office of chief magistrate. He was supported upon the ground, that having been distinguished, if not for great talents, yet for useful services in all the civil offices, under the governments both of Tennessee and the United States, of counsellor, legislator, senator, and judge—some of which he had filled more than once, and the duties of which he had discharged with ability and satisfaction to those he represented—he was qualified for any office under the government. That it was not probable that he could have been selected to fill high offices, so various and responsible, without possessing distinguished talents for civil duties; or that he could have discharged them satisfactorily, without considerable acquirement; that this should satisfy his country that his mind was not exclusively of a military character, and that his election to the presidency would not therefore rest exclusively on his great military services. That, like Washington, he had been a citizen-soldier, and, like Washington, was qualified for high civil command. That it was the command of armies, and brilliant military services rendered by both, that first endeared these great men to their country, and operated doubtless, with both, in recommending them to the chair of state. That if neither had been a warrior, it is probable neither would have been a distinguished statesman. That General Jackson was eminently qualified by his great

* Harris's Eulogy.

capacity for originating and directing measures, for governing men, for bringing order out of confusion, and, by that prudent judgment and foresight, securing the good which many too often attribute to fortune. That he was fitted for the chief magistracy of such a country and people, by all the qualities of his great mind and character, and by all the habits of his public and private life. That it would be vain to say that a man nurtured in the bosom of freemen, every one of whom was by birthright a politician—successively filling, by the choice of such a people, high and important offices in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government—was, notwithstanding all his experience, and such proofs of public esteem and confidence, incompetent to the administration of a popular government. That, called, as he had been, from the pursuits of civil life to military command, he had become at once, and without regular military tuition, a great captain. That, having to trust to his own resources, and to depend for success on the active and commanding energies of his own mighty mind, he did not then disappoint his country. That his combinations and conduct established a skill, a sagacity and judgment, that would have done honour to the most renowned commander that had ever devoted a whole lifetime to the profession of arms. And that if such had been the results of General Jackson's capacity and talents, in a profession which he had but little followed, the results would not be less beneficial or glorious, when the same capacity, and talents, and integrity should be devoted to an office more congenial to his habits. That it was true, he was not a man of

great learning and genius; but, in lieu of these he had a common sense, a discretion and prudence, which nothing could supply, and without which knowledge was useless, and genius contemptible. That he was a man who never mistook *what to do* or *what he was doing*. That in regard to the fundamental questions of constitutional doctrines and national policy, he had been politically nurtured in the school of our republican fathers, and that to these tenets of his youth he still adhered. And that, lastly, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, he was “honest, sincere, firm, and strong-minded—of sound public principles; and that, if he should be brought into the presidency, to correct the alarming tendency towards favourite, and otherwise irremediable evils, which were beginning to develop themselves in the administration of the federal government, he (Jackson) would be found entirely faithful to the object.” These were the grounds on which he was presented to the people by the legislature of his own state and his friends throughout the union.*

The resolution which passed both houses of the legislature of Tennessee, in October, 1825, proffering General Jackson to their fellow-citizens for the chief magistracy, and expatiating at large on his many distinguished qualifications for the office, was responded to by him, not doubting the right of a state legislature to nominate a president, by a resignation of his seat in the Senate of the United States, and an address to the legislature, in which he also gave his views on public affairs. For three years, during the exciting

*Stevenson's Eulogy.

canvass, which finally resulted in his election, he remained in private life at the Hermitage. In January, 1828, he spent a few days in New Orleans, participating, by invitation, in the celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of his great victory.

The canvass for the presidential election in 1828 was conducted with great spirit and enthusiasm. Many distinguished members of the party who had supported the administrations of Washington and John Adams, declared for Jackson ; some of them assigning as a reason for this step, the determination to break up what was beginning to appear as an established usage, viz : the election to the presidency of one who had previously served as secretary of state ; anything like a regular line of succession to this high office appearing to them to be totally repugnant to the spirit of our republican institutions. The people entered into the cause of Jackson with that hearty good will which was the result of high sense of his important services to the republic, and a desire to redress the wrong which they considered to have been done towards him in the previous election. The people of the United States have always evinced this lively sense of gratitude towards public men who have rendered great and indisputable services to the country, and a keen resentment for any injury which they may have suffered. Under these circumstances, General Jackson could hardly fail of his election ; and, accordingly, the election in October, 1828, resulted in the elevation of Jackson to the presidency, by an electoral vote of one hundred and seventy-eight. Mr. Adams received but eighty-three. The latter had the votes

of New Jersey and Delaware, sixteen from New York, five from Maryland, and all the New England votes, except one from Maine. All the other votes were for General Jackson.

Before departing for Washington, in 1829, to take the reins of government, he met with a severe affliction in the death of Mrs. Jackson. This loss bore heavily upon him for some time, and he came into power with gloomy feelings. He reached the national capital early in February, in a plain carriage.*

The news of his arrival at the seat of government, and his entrance on the duties of his office, was received with enthusiasm throughout the United States.

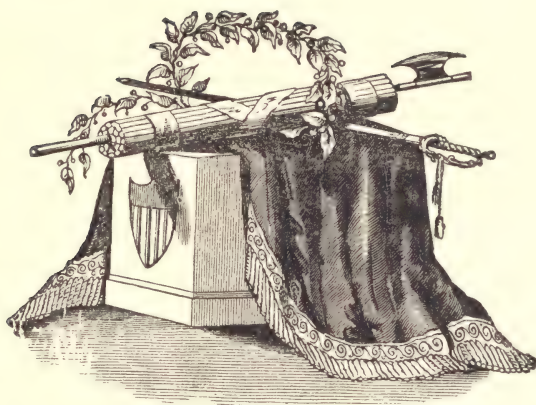
* Statesman's Manual.



Huzzah for Jackson !



General Jackson in 1829.



CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST PRESIDENTIAL TERM.



E now enter upon General Jackson's career as a statesman. This part of his life it is our purpose to treat, not in the spirit of party, but of history—to regard his acts, as far as it may be possible to do so, in the same point of view in which they will be regarded by posterity. It is not to be expected that the chief magistrate of a great nation shall escape censure for those important political measures which he may consider it his duty to adopt. Washington was charged with being bought with British gold, because he signed Jay's treaty ; Adams was strongly censured for chas-

tising the insolence of the French Directory; Jefferson for purchasing Louisiana; Madison for recommending the declaration of war with England; and Monroe for sanctioning the conquest and acquisition of Florida; and yet these measures were all justified, not only by the general voice of the American people, but by their obvious public utility. An impartial survey of Jackson's most important measures, precisely the measures which were most loudly censured, will conduct us to the same result. They have been equally justified by the voice of the people, and by their effects on the prosperity of the nation.

—General Jackson arrived at Washington in February, and on the 4th of March, 1829, entered on the duties of the office of President of the United States. About twelve o'clock of that day he was waited upon by a few of the surviving officers and soldiers of the revolutionary war, who came to escort him from his lodgings at Gadsby's hotel to the capitol. One of them, speaking for all, delivered an address, congratulating him upon his election, and expressing sentiments of deep attachment.] He replied to them by saying:—"Respected friends: your affectionate address awakens sentiments and recollections which I feel with sincerity and cherish with pride. To have around my person, at the moment of undertaking the most solemn of all duties to my country, the companions of the immortal Washington, will afford me satisfaction and grateful encouragement. That by my best exertions I shall be able to exhibit more than an imitation of his labours, a sense of my own imperfections, and the reverence I entertain for his virtues,

forbid me to hope. To you, respected friends, the survivors of that heroic band, who followed him so long and so valiantly in the path of glory, I offer my sincere thanks, and to Heaven my prayers, that your remaining years may be as happy as your toils and your lives have been illustrious."

—Escorted by this band of heroes he arrived at the capitol, where, in presence of the Senate, the members of the House of Representatives, the heads of departments, the judges of the Supreme Court, foreign ministers, and an immense concourse of citizens, he delivered his inaugural address; and having concluded it, the oath faithfully to execute the duties of the presidency, and to the best of his ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, was administered to him by Chief-Justice Marshall. His induction into office by taking this oath was immediately proclaimed by the firing of salutes by artillery stationed near the capitol, which were echoed and re-echoed from the forts and plains around. The paragraph which excited most interest in his inaugural address was in the following terms.

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of *reform*; which will require particularly the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the federal government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment, and have placed, or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands. In the performance of a task thus

generally delineated, I shall endeavour to select men whose diligence and talents will insure, in their respective stations, able and faithful co-operation—depending for the advancement of the public service, more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers, than on their numbers.” The meaning of this part of his address was only made known when he began his general system of removals and appointments.

After the delivery of his address, he was conducted in procession to the presidential mansion, where he received the salutations of a vast number of friends, who had gathered to congratulate him upon his induction to the highest office in the gift of the people.

Thus propitious and pleasant, like the day of his inauguration, everything seemed to work in harmony at the touch of the new president. He entered upon the duties of the office with great experience and ample preparation in civil as well as military life. In his early youth, for many years, he was devoted to the study and practice of a profession that brought the mind in daily and familiar intercourse with the laws and government of his country. A pioneer among the first settlers of a new territory, he saw the birth and development of the social and civil institutions of a free people. At thirty years of age he was the leading statesman of a young republic. His creative mind was called on to aid in framing a constitution of government, suited to a people of largest liberty—and then to administer its laws in the functions of an office of the highest trust and responsibility. By his powers of thought and independence of character, he exalted the judicial station in the minds of a

rude people. He whose retirement from the supreme bench was opposed by the best men of his state, must have possessed rare qualities as a judge.*

Long in retirement, devoted to rural occupations, disconnected with the strife of party politics, and in familiar intercourse with the sons of those pioneers, who had conquered a rude wilderness to the hand of cultivation, he learned to value the strong sense of freedom, the bold intellect and hardy virtues of an agricultural people, and to perceive that the perpetuity of our free institutions depends on the continuance of their virtue and intelligence. With such associations, and such habits of mind, he could not fail to interpret the constitution in the sense of the great apostle of liberty, as an instrument of limited powers, reserving to the states and to the people many of the most important attributes of sovereignty. Dwelling among an enlightened people, with few wants, and requiring but few restraints—having a constitution and laws of their own adequate to their purpose and faithfully administered, he could not perceive the necessity or the justice of conferring all powers on a central government, remote from observation, in the hands of men opposed to him in interest, alien in feeling, and over whom he and his people could exert but a limited control. Such thoughts naturally suggested themselves to the unbiassed mind of Andrew Jackson; and he who despised shams, and sought and loved the truth for her own sake, could not fail to embrace them. With large experience, and ample preparation, in

* Garland's Eulogy.

mature old age and full of honours, Andrew Jackson ascended the steps of the capitol as president of the United States, forty years after the foundation of the republic, and took the oath to support the constitution. This was no unmeaning ceremony with him. He solemnly purposed to support the constitution as it came from the hands of Washington and his compeers, and none other. Whatever a plain, honest, common-sense interpretation of its words could be made to mean, that was the constitution he intended to abide by and enforce. Those powers of intellect and that independence of mind so conspicuous in his earlier days, had never forsaken him. He was not the man to yield to authority against his own judgment, or surrender the solemn convictions of his mind to the plea of necessity.*

The interpolation of forty years' legislation, though sanctioned by judicial authority and great names, had no weight with him against the plain reading of the constitution. After having encountered so many difficulties, and fronted so many dangers, through a long and eventful life, he was not now to be deterred by any consideration from the discharge of his duty. Having filled the measure of his country's glory, and leaning with his arm on eternity, he had nothing more to ask. But with a popularity, a weight of character, and an influence unknown since the days of Washington, he stood by the altar of the constitution, and offered it all as a sacrifice to his country. Thousands have condemned him, but none have

* Garland's Eulogy.

charged him with selfishness or a sinister motive. Coming into the executive chair with a determination of bringing back the government to the simple meaning of the constitution, confining its action to a few general powers, and leaving all the rest to the states and to the people, he resolved to accomplish it or perish in the ruins. This, his greatest task, he did accomplish, as he always accomplished everything he undertook, gallantly, nobly, perfectly.*

The members of the former cabinet having resigned, President Jackson immediately made the following nominations, which were duly confirmed by the Senate: Martin Van Buren, of New York, for Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John Macpherson Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General; and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster General.

After thus constituting the cabinet, and confirming some other nominations, the Senate adjourned on the 17th of March, upon receiving an intimation from the president that he had no other business to lay before them.

Scarcely had the Senate adjourned, when the work of reform was commenced by the removal of the president's political opponents, and the appointment of his friends to office. The number of appointments made by him during the recess of the Senate was one hundred and seventy-six, principally in consequence of removals.

* Garland's Eulogy.

Congress reassembled in December, 1829. In his first annual message, which he then delivered to them, he expressed his views on political subjects, and on the policy most conducive to the prosperity of the nation. In referring to the condition and prospects of the United States, he said :

“In communicating with you for the first time, it is to me a source of unfeigned satisfaction, calling for mutual gratulation and devout thanks to a benign Providence, that we are at peace with all mankind, and that our country exhibits the most cheering evidence of general welfare and progressive improvement.

“Our foreign relations, although in their general character pacific and friendly, present subjects of difference between us and other powers of deep interest, as well to the country at large as to many of our citizens. To effect an adjustment of these shall continue to be the object of my earnest endeavours ; and notwithstanding the difficulties of the task, I do not allow myself to apprehend unfavourable results. Blessed as our country is with everything which constitutes national strength, she is fully adequate to the maintenance of all her interests. In discharging the responsible trust confided to the executive in this respect, it is my settled purpose to ask nothing that is not clearly right, and to submit to nothing that is wrong ; and I flatter myself that, supported by the other branches of the government, and by the intelligence and patriotism of the people, we shall be able, under the protection of Providence, to cause all our just rights to be respected.”

He then entered into a particular examination of

the relations of the United States with Great Britain, France, Spain, and other European powers, as well as with the Barbary powers in Africa, and Brazil and Mexico on our own continent. He recommended an amendment of that part of the constitution which relates to the election of president and vice-president. In relation to the tariff passed at the last session of Congress, the state of the public finances, and the revenue, his message contained the following paragraphs :

“ No very considerable change has occurred during the recess of Congress in the condition of either our agriculture, commerce, or manufactures. The operation of the tariff has not proved so injurious to the two former, or as beneficial to the latter, as was anticipated. Importations of foreign goods have not been sensibly diminished, while domestic competition, under an illusive excitement, has increased the production much beyond the demand for home consumption. The consequences have been low prices, temporary embarrassment, and partial loss. That such of our own manufacturing establishments as are based upon capital, and are prudently managed, will survive the shock, and be ultimately profitable, there is no good reason to doubt.

“ To regulate its conduct, so as to promote equally the prosperity of these three cardinal interests, is one of the most difficult tasks of government ; and it may be regretted that the complicated restrictions which now embarrass the intercourse of nations, could not by common consent be abolished, and commerce allowed to flow in those channels, to which individual

enterprise, always its surest guide, might direct it. But we must ever expect selfish legislation in other nations; and are therefore compelled to adopt our own to their regulations, in the manner best calculated to avoid serious injury, and to harmonize the conflicting interest of our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures. Under these impressions I invite your attention to the existing tariff, believing that some of its provisions require modification.

“The general rule to be applied in graduating the duties upon articles of foreign growth or manufacture, is that which will place our own in fair competition with those of other countries; and the inducements to advance even a step beyond this point are controlling in regard to those articles which are of primary necessity in time of war. When we reflect upon the difficulty and delicacy of this operation, it is important that it should never be attempted but with the utmost caution. Frequent legislation in regard to any branch of industry, affecting its value, and by which its capital may be transferred to new channels, must always be productive of hazardous speculation and loss.

“In deliberating, therefore, on these interesting subjects, local feelings and prejudices should be merged in the patriotic determination to promote the great interests of the whole. All attempts to connect them with the party conflicts of the day are necessarily injurious, and should be discountenanced. Our action upon them should be under the control of higher and purer motives. Legislation, subjected to such influences, can never be just; and will not long

retain the sanction of a people, whose active patriotism is not bounded by sectional limits, nor insensible to that spirit of concession and forbearance which gave life to our political compact, and still sustains it. Discarding all calculations of political ascendancy, the north, the south, the east, and the west should unite in diminishing any burden of which either may justly complain.

“The agricultural interest of our country is so essentially connected with every other, and so superior in importance to them all, that it is scarcely necessary to invite to it your particular attention. It is principally as manufactures and commerce tend to increase the value of agricultural productions, and to extend their application to the wants and comforts of society, that they deserve the fostering care of government.

“Looking forward to the period, not far distant, when a sinking fund will no longer be required, the duties on those articles of importation which cannot come in competition with our own productions, are the first that should engage the attention of Congress in the modification of the tariff. Of these, tea and coffee are the most prominent; they enter largely into the consumption of the country, and have become articles of necessity to all classes. A reduction, therefore, of the existing duties will be felt as a common benefit; but, like all other legislation connected with commerce, to be efficacious and not injurious, it should be gradual and certain.”

In this ably written message the president next called the attention of Congress to the favourable

condition of the treasury, and expressed a strong desire for effecting the payment of the national debt, which then amounted to upwards of sixty millions of dollars, with all possible promptitude. He recommended that such an annual payment should be made as would extinguish the whole in eight years. After this should have been done, he recommended the division of the surplus revenue among the states, principally for the purpose of internal improvements, for he had his doubts with respect to the authority of the general government to make appropriations for that purpose. Then referring to the condition of the Indian tribes within the United States, he recommended their removal beyond the boundary of the different states, but without compulsion, to such territory west of the Mississippi as Congress might set apart for their use.

With regard to the United States Bank he said: "The charter of the Bank of the United States expires in 1836, and its stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privileges. In order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I cannot, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the legislature and the people. Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens; and it must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of creating a uniform and sound currency.

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution

is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues, might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties, and at the same time secure all the advantages to the government and country, that were expected to result from the present bank."

Many of the recommendations contained in this message were considered immediately ; but in some instances the views of the president were not concurred in. Committees on retrenchment and reform made reports agreeably to the wishes of the president, but they were coldly received in both houses, and little action was taken on them during the session. The recommendations of amendments to the constitution were passed over as unimportant and neglected. The recommendation on the subject of a revision of the tariff met with better treatment, and several bills were introduced to diminish or repeal the duties on various articles of general consumption.

On the subject of a renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, the standing committees of the Senate and the House, to which it was referred, made reports diametrically opposite to the recommendation of the president. The friends of the administration formed a majority in both committees, and the marked difference in the opinions entertained by them from that expressed in the president's message, afforded a striking proof, that Jackson was already far in advance of the party which had brought him into power, as the measures which he recommended

at that time have been nearly all subsequently carried into effect.

This session of the federal legislature continued for six months; and the following laws were the most important which were passed and approved by President Jackson during that period: For the re-appropriation of thirty thousand dollars for the suppression of the slave trade, which had been appropriated two years before, but was not expended, and which was founded on an act of Congress of 1819—for repealing an act imposing tonnage duties on vessels, of which the officers and two-thirds of the seamen were citizens of the United States—for the more effectual collection of impost duties, appointing eight additional appraisers to examine goods imported—for the appointment of an additional officer to be attached to the treasury department, called the solicitor of the treasury—for reducing the rate of duties on tea and coffee, as recommended by the president in his annual message; also on salt and molasses, and allowing a drawback on spirits exported, distilled from that article, which the existing laws did not permit—for allowing a portion of the claims of Massachusetts for services and expenses of the militia in 1812–1814, in time of war, and for which that state had not been reimbursed; the amount allowed being four hundred and thirty thousand dollars, about half the sum claimed—for the removal of the Indians from lands occupied by them within any state of the Union, to a territory west of the river Mississippi, and without the limits of any state, or organized territory, and belonging to the United States, by purchase or re-

linquishment of the Indians, by treaty ; to divide such western territory into districts, for the reception and permanent settlement of those who should consent to emigrate from their residence on the east of that river, they relinquishing all claims to lands they then occupied ; the tribes to have the solemn assurance of government, that it will *for ever* secure and guaranty to them and their posterity, the tract of country so exchanged by them for the lands they should quit in Georgia, Alabama, and any other states ; and should they abandon the territory at any future time, the same to revert to the United States ; the Indians to be reimbursed for their improvements made on the lands they may leave ; to be aided in their removal and supported for one year by the federal government ; to be protected against assaults from other tribes in the vicinity of their new residence ; and five hundred thousand dollars were granted for carrying the same into effect.*

During this session of Congress, a highly interesting debate took place in the Senate, on a resolution offered by Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, relating to the public lands, in the course of which, Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, introduced the subject of state rights, and contended that the several states within which the public lands were situated, should have the entire control and jurisdiction over them. Mr. Webster replied to Mr. Hayne in one of the most eloquent, powerful, and effective speeches ever delivered in Congress ; and contended that on subjects fully com-

* Bradford's History of the Federal Government.



Daniel Webster.

mitted to the government, by the constitution, its powers were absolute, exclusive, and unlimited; that no state, nor even a number of states, might justly interfere in such cases; and that the public lands, not expressly ceded to a particular state, were solely and absolutely at the disposal of the United States government. This speech produced a most wonderful effect throughout the Union, and destroyed for a time the hopes of the advocates of the new doctrine of nullification; yet the views of Mr. Hayne, respecting state rights and powers, continued to be entertained

and asserted by a large and respectable portion of the people of the southern states. No particular law resulted from this able and protracted discussion.

The question of internal improvements by the general government was also discussed at the first session of the twenty-first Congress, and a bill was passed, in the House, by a vote of 102 to 85, and in the Senate by 24 to 18, authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Maysville and Lexington Road Company, in Kentucky. The bill thus passed by so large a majority, was sent to the president for his approval. After retaining it eight days, he returned it to the House on the 27th of May, 1830, with his objections.

The reading of this veto message caused much excitement in Congress. Many of the friends of the president from Pennsylvania and from the west, had relied upon his approbation of this bill and of the system of internal improvements by Congress; and this message first forced upon their minds a conviction as unwelcome as it was unexpected. The question being taken upon the passage of the bill, notwithstanding the objections of the president, the vote stood yeas 96, nays 92. Two-thirds of the house not agreeing to pass the bill, it was rejected; though a majority of the house thus refused to sustain the objections of the president.

Two days afterwards the House of Representatives took up several bills, which had been sent to them from the Senate, relating to internal improvements; and, notwithstanding the veto of the Maysville road bill, passed, by large majorities, three acts, the first of which authorized a subscription to the

Washington Turnpike Company; the second, to the Louisville and Portland Canal Company, and the third appropriating money for light-houses, improving harbours, directing surveys, &c. The first bill being similar to the one already rejected by the president, was returned by him to the Senate, where it originated; with a reference to the message on the Maysville bill for his reasons. The Senate then proceeded to reconsider the bill, and on the question of its passage, the vote stood yeas 21, nays 17; and the majority being less than two-thirds, the bill was rejected. The other two bills were retained by the president until after the adjournment of Congress, May 31st, 1830, and were consequently lost.*

The second session of the twenty-first Congress commenced on the 6th of December, 1830, and continued to the 3d of March, 1831. The annual message of President Jackson in December, 1830, was unusually elaborate. In it he gave a full and minute statement of the acts of the executive department during the recess of the legislature. Among the more important of these acts were the nominal improvement of the commercial intercourse with the colonial ports of Great Britain, and advantageous treaties negotiated with Turkey, Denmark, France, and Mexico.

By the treaty with the Sublime Porte, a free passage was secured, without limitation of time, to the vessels of the United States to and from the Black Sea, including the navigation thereof; and our trade

* Statesman's Manual.

with Turkey was placed on the footing of the most favoured nations of Europe. A treaty had been agreed on with Denmark, by which six hundred and fifty thousand dollars were to be paid to American citizens as an indemnity for spoliations upon their commerce in 1808-1811.

Similar indemnity was expected soon to be received from some other European governments, on whom claims had been several years before made for like previous depredations. The negotiations with France for a recognition and allowance of claims on that government, in consequence of depredations committed on American commerce at former times, and to a large amount, had been prosecuted with renewed zeal and with a strong hope of speedy success; for a friendly spirit was manifested by the French government on the subject, although some objections were offered as to an allowance of all the claims; the recent resolution in France indicating a favourable result to the negotiation, as well as a proper occasion for extending the commercial intercourse between the two countries. The strongest assurances had been received of the early and favourable consideration of the subjects of difference with Spain. The president then gave his reasons in full for the course he had pursued in relation to internal improvements. He represented the financial affairs of the government as in a most prosperous condition; the expenditures during the year being estimated at less than fourteen millions of dollars, exclusive of the amount appropriated for paying the annual instalment of the public

debt, which was eleven millions; and the receipts into the treasury exceeding twenty-four millions.

In the address of the president at this time, he again repeated his opinion of the propriety of limiting the president's tenure of office to one term of four or six years; he expressed his views at some length of the powers of the federal and state governments, and of the importance of avoiding all encroachments of each upon the other; he referred to the condition of the Indians, and gave his unqualified testimony to the "benevolent policy" of the federal government, from its origin, towards these uncivilized people. He informed Congress that two important tribes had accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and he believed that their example would soon induce the remaining tribes to seek the same obvious advantages. He again recommended a modification of the tariff law of 1828, which, he said, "taxed some of the comforts of life unnecessarily high, and undertook to protect interests too local and minute to justify a general exaction."

He then informed them that nothing had occurred to lessen in any degree the dangers which many American citizens apprehended from the rechartering of the Bank of the United States, as then organized. In the spirit of improvement and compromise which distinguished our country and its institutions, it would become the people's representatives to inquire whether it would not be possible to secure the advantages afforded by that bank, through the agency of a bank of the United States so modified in its principles and

structure as to obviate constitutional and other objections.

There were two or three acts of Congress for the purpose of internal improvement, passed at this session by such overwhelming majorities, as to induce the president to yield his scruples to the force of public opinion and sign the bills. The principal acts of Congress of general interest approved by the president during the second session of the 21st Congress, were the following: Making appropriations for the improvement of harbours and removing obstructions in rivers; to amend the copyright laws, by extending the term of copyright to authors and others, to twenty-eight years, with the privilege of renewing the same for the additional period of fourteen years; for the continuation of the Cumberland Road in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; confirming certain grants of land made by the United States in 1819, for the encouragement of the culture of the vine and olive; granting the control of the National Road in Ohio to that state for the purpose of erecting gates and toll-houses thereon, and an act allowing duties on imports to be paid at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Nashville, and other ports on the waters of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers.*

About this time it was asserted by the opponents of the president, that his opinions were influenced, and appointments to office effected, through the instrumentality of a cabal said to have been composed principally of subordinate officeholders, who had been consequently named the "kitchen cabinet." This

* Statesman's Manual, p. 983.

libel, though long asserted, and believed by many, is now well known to have been false, and to have had its origin in complaints of disappointed political demagogues. So far from the president's delegating any portion of his proper duties to irresponsible persons, he was scrupulously attentive to the exact discharge of them himself. No person ever presumed to interfere with his duties in the way of dictation or even suggestion. He is known to have read with care every letter addressed to him as President of the United States, and it was his constant practice to note on the backs of those requiring answers a memorandum of the answer which he thought necessary, before handing them over to his secretary; who would then write his answers from the president's notes on each letter. Matters requiring to be referred to a department were referred with the president's opinion where it was necessary.

General Jackson had hitherto expressed the opinion that the president ought to hold his office but one term, and had more than once recommended an amendment of the constitution to that effect. But in 1831 he yielded to the importunities of many political friends, as well as to the expressed wishes of the legislatures of the states of Pennsylvania and New York, and consented to be a candidate for re-election.

Between the months of April and June 1831, owing to some misunderstanding existing between the secretary of war and the other members of the cabinet, they all, except the postmaster-general, resigned; and the new cabinet, which was not completely organized until late in the summer, was constituted as

follows:—Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, Secretary of State; Louis M'Lane, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury; Lewis Cass, of Ohio, Secretary of War; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy; Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, Attorney General; and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General, continued.

This cabinet was not only superior to that which preceded it, but might fairly be compared, in point of talent and ability, with most of those of previous administrations; and its character furnished strong testimony of the tribute paid to public opinion in the selection of his advisers, by a chief magistrate of great personal popularity.*

The first session of the 22d Congress commenced on the 5th of December, 1831, and continued to July 14th, 1832. The president's annual message contained the usual amount of information in relation to the foreign and domestic affairs of the country, and nearly the same recommendations as the last.

The census of 1830 having been completed, a new apportionment of representatives among the different states was made, and the ratio fixed was one representative for forty-seven thousand seven hundred inhabitants.

The following were the most important measures of the federal government and the political events affecting the United States, which happened in 1831, and were made known by the president to both houses of Congress in his third annual message. As the

* Statesman's Manual, 987.

King of the Netherlands, to whom had been referred the adjustment of the dispute between the United States and Great Britain with respect to the North-Eastern boundary, had departed from the real question referred to him, and given an opinion which was of the nature of a compromise, the government of the United States did not acquiesce in his judgment. The treaty with France was finally settled, the sum provided to be paid for commercial spoliations being sufficient to satisfy most of the claimants. Treaties of commerce were renewed with Sweden and Denmark. The removal of some Indian tribes from the states in which they had formerly resided, had been effected during the year, and others were preparing also to remove in the year following—they were chiefly from the states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia—and the lands provided for their future settlement were far west of the river Mississippi, and beyond the territory occupied by citizens of the United States; and where they were to be entirely separated from all state authority; which, it was supposed, would conduce to their welfare, their preservation, and to the peace of the nation. The public finances appeared to be in as prosperous state as for several preceding years, and the usual reduction of the national debt was made. The president again expressed his views as given on a former occasion, of the propriety of an alteration of the constitution, for preventing the same person from being elected as president of the United States for a second term; and against the policy of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States, which would expire in 1836. He again recom-



Martin Van Buren.

mended an alteration or modification of the tariff of 1828.*

During this session of Congress the Senate rejected the president's nomination of Mr. Van Buren as minister to England. As he had been appointed and sent to the court of St. James during the recess, the rejection was necessarily followed by his recall.

* Bradford.

This act of the Senate excited strongly the indignation of the president and the people; and it was undoubtedly a principal cause of Mr. Van Buren's subsequent nomination for the office of president.

Many subjects of great interest came under the consideration of Congress at this session; and among them none excited more of the public attention than that of the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States. This bank had been established in 1816, with a charter for twenty years.

From the time of Jackson's election in 1829, he had opposed the measure of the renewal of the charter, alone and unsupported, but with the utmost determination. His views led him to limit the central authority; and this, like other commercial and moneyed bodies, bearing an aristocratic character, excited his peculiar jealousy. Even in his first annual message, he intimated that its constitutionality and expediency were much questioned, and suggested another institution, founded on the security of government and its revenues. This declaration was the signal of deadly war between him and the bank. That establishment seeing its existence threatened, is alleged to have employed its funds and its influence in efforts at once to defend itself, and to shake his authority. In his second message he again renewed the proposal of a bank which should be a branch of the treasury, without liberty to issue notes, make loans, or purchase property. On the 9th of January, 1832, however, a petition being presented to Congress for a new charter to the existing institution, was referred to a select committee, which, on the 13th of March, reported in

its favour, recommending only some limitations to the power of issuing notes and holding real property, also the payment of a bonus of one million five hundred thousand dollars. After long debates and various amendments, a bill for this purpose was carried in the Senate by a vote of 28 to 20, and in the House of Representatives by 107 to 85; but, being on the 4th of July sent to the president, it was returned to the Senate on the 10th of July with an absolute veto, which, not being opposed by two-thirds, decided the fate of the bank.

“Never, from the first moment of Jackson’s administration to the last, was there a calm in the strife of parties on the subject of the currency; and never, during the whole period, did he recede or falter. Always in advance of his party—always having near him friends who cowered before the hardihood of his courage, he himself, throughout all the contest, was unmoved, from the first suggestion of the unconstitutionality of the bank, to the moment when he himself, first of all, reasoning from the certain tendency of its policy, with singular sagacity predicted to unbelieving friends the coming insolvency of the institution.

“The storm throughout the country rose with unexampled vehemence; his opponents were not satisfied with addressing the public, or Congress, or his cabinet; they threw their whole force personally on him. From all parts men pressed around him, urging him, entreating him to bend. Congress was flexible; many of his personal friends faltered; the impetuous swelling wave rolled on without one sufficient obstacle till

it reached his presence ; but, as it dashed in its highest fury at his feet, it broke before his firmness. The commanding majesty of his will appalled his opponents, and revived his friends. He himself had a proud consciousness that his will was indomitable. Standing over the rocks of the Rip Raps, looking out upon the ocean, ‘Providence,’ said he to a friend, ‘Providence may change my determination ; but man can no more do it than he can remove these Rip Raps, which have resisted the rolling ocean from the beginning of time.’ And though a panic was spreading through the land, and the whole credit system, as it then existed, was crumbling to pieces and crushing around him, he stood erect, like a massive column, which the heaps of falling ruins could not break, nor bend, nor sway from its fixed foundation.”*

The tariff of 1828 was also slightly modified by this Congress in July 1832, but the small and partial reduction of duties secured by this act did not lessen, but rather seemed to increase the opposition, in the southern states, to the American system, as the policy of high duties on imports, for the protection of domestic manufactures, was then called. In South Carolina the complaints and the opposition exceeded those made in any of the other states ; and it was resolved a few months after the passage of the law of July 1832, not by a few individuals, but by the legislature of the state, that that and the former law of 1828 were infractions of the constitution, or exceeded the power given to the federal government

* Bancroft’s Eulogy.

by that compact; and were therefore null and void; and *that the execution of those acts within the state was to be prevented, even by force, if necessary.** And the necessary measures were taken to enforce this resolution.

These proceedings by the party which had obtained possession of the state government, brought on an issue between the state and federal governments, that could no longer be neglected. The very existence of the government depended upon the decision of the president. South Carolina had set at defiance the legislation of the general government, and declared that no umpire should be admitted to decide between the contending parties. At such a crisis, the president felt that there was no room for hesitation. The difficulty must be met, not only to save the Union from being broken up, but to protect those citizens of South Carolina who still adhered to its standard, from the horrors of civil discord. The president determined to come at once to an issue with the nullifiers; and to exercise the executive authority in such manner as to maintain the supremacy of the law, and the integrity of the Union, and he proceeded therefore to enforce the revenue acts with an entire disregard to the rights of sovereignty which were assumed by the State of South Carolina.

With that view all the disposable military force was ordered to assemble at Charleston, and a sloop of war was sent to that port to protect the federal officers, in case of necessity, in the execution of their

* Bradford.

duty. On the 10th of December, the eloquent and energetic proclamation of the president was issued, plainly and forcibly stating the nature of the American government, and the supremacy of the federal authorities in all matters intrusted to their care; and exhorting the citizens of South Carolina not to persist in a course which must bring upon their state the force of the confederacy, and expose the Union to the hazard of dissolution.*

In this memorable proclamation he speaks to the citizens of the disaffected states with fraternal kindness. He points to the constitution as the perpetual bond of our union, which we have received as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation, in which we have trusted as the sheet anchor of our safety, in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe; to which we have looked with a sacred awe, as the palladium of our liberties; and which, with all the solemnities of religion, we have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter, to defend and support. He invokes the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumters, the Rutledges, and the thousand other names which adorn their revolutionary history, not to abandon that Union, to support which, so many of them fought, and bled, and died. He adjures them, as they honour their memory, as they love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives, as they prize the peace of our country, the lives of its best citizens, and their own fair fame, to retrace their steps.

* Statesman's Manual, p. 999.

But having entreated, invoked, and adjured with fatherly affection—having placed before them the motives for returning to the path of duty, he assumes the dignity of the magistrate, and denounces the penalty of continued resistance. He tells them that they cannot destroy the constitution : they may disturb its peace, interrupt the course of its prosperity, and cloud its reputation for stability ; but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, existing revenue laws will be enforced, and their unequal features will be changed by force of public opinion, and by the fact that the approaching payment of the public debt will require a diminution of duties. He then announces to his fellow-citizens of the United States, that a crisis had approached in our affairs, on which the continuance of our uninterrupted prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free governments may depend. He relies with confidence on their individual support, in his determination to execute the laws—to preserve the Union by all constitutional means ; to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force ; and, if it be the will of Heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man, for the shedding of a brother's blood, should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.*

“By nature, by impulse, by education, political sympathies, and the fixed habit of his mind, a friend to the rights of the states—unwilling that the liberty of the states should be trampled under foot—unwilling that the constitution should lose its vigour, or be im-

paired, General Jackson thus rallied for the constitution: and in its name he published to the world, 'THE UNION: IT MUST BE PRESERVED.' The words were a spell to hush evil passion, and to remove oppression. Under his guiding influence, the favoured interests which had struggled to perpetuate unjust legislation, yielded to the voice of moderation and reform; and every mind that had for a moment contemplated a rupture of the states, discarded it for ever. The whole influence of the past was invoked in favour of the constitution; from the council chambers of the fathers who moulded our institutions—from the hall where American independence was declared, the clear loud cry was uttered—'The Union: it must be preserved.' From every battle-field of the Revolution—from Lexington and Bunker Hill—from Saratoga and Yorktown—from the fields of Eutaw—from the canebrakes that sheltered the men of Marion—the repeated, long-prolonged echoes came up—'The Union: it must be preserved.' From every valley in our land—from every cabin on the pleasant mountain sides—from the ships at our wharves—from the tents of the hunter in our westernmost prairies—from the living minds of the living millions of American free-men—from the thickly coming glories of futurity—the shout went up like the sound of many waters, 'The Union: it must be preserved.' The friends of the protective system and they who had denounced the protective system—the statesmen of the north, who had wounded the constitution in their love of centralism—of the south, whose minds had carried to its extreme the theory of state rights—all conspired

together; all breathed prayers for the perpetuity of the Union. Under the prudent firmness of Jackson—under the mixture of justice and general regard for all interests, the greatest danger to our institutions was turned aside, and mankind was encouraged to believe that our Union, like our freedom, is imperishable.

“The moral of the great events of those days is this: that the people can discern right, and will make their way to a knowledge of right; that the whole human mind, and therefore, with it, the mind of the nation, has a continuous, ever improving existence; that the appeal from the unjust legislation of to-day must be made quietly, earnestly, perseveringly, to the enlightened collective reason of to-morrow; that submission is due to the popular will, in the confidence that the people, when in error, will amend their doings; that in a popular government, injustice is neither to be established by force, nor to be resisted by force; in a word, that the Union, which was constituted by consent, must be preserved by love.”*

One of the most remarkable features in this contest was the unprecedented position of Mr. Calhoun. He had had a misunderstanding with the president in the earlier part of his administration; and now, at the call of his own state, he resigned his office of vice president, was elected one of her Senators in Congress, and took his seat in that body to defend her cause.

The president on this momentous occasion was

* Bancroft's Eulogy.



John C. Calhoun.

ably supported by the leaders of the opposition party in Congress, with Mr. Webster at their head ; and the South Carolinians were finally pacified by the passage of the well known compromise act proposed by Mr. Clay, which provided for a gradual reduction of duties on imported merchandise.

During the year 1832, some difficulties occurred with the Indian tribes on the north-western frontier of the United States. The hostile incursions of the Sac and Fox Indians under Black Hawk, necessarily led to the interposition of the general government. Detachments of troops, under Generals Scott and

Atkinson, and of the militia of the state of Illinois, were called into the field. After a harassing warfare, prolonged by the nature of the country, and by the difficulty of procuring subsistence, the Indians were entirely defeated, and the disaffected band dispersed or destroyed.

Before the meeting of Congress in December 1832, the presidential election had taken place, and the votes of the electors for president stood as follows: Andrew Jackson 219, Henry Clay 49, John Floyd 11, and William Wirt 7. For vice president—Martin Van Buren 189, John Sergeant 49, William Wilkins 30, Henry Lee 11, and Amos Ellmaker 7.

The second session of the 22d Congress commenced on the 4th of December, 1832, and continued till the 3d of March, 1833. In his annual message to Congress, the president referred particularly, and at great length, to the laws regulating duties on imported articles, more especially on woollen and cotton goods; although an act on the subject passed at the previous session of the legislature, was adopted after mature deliberation, and was intended to be continued in force for some years, and until the entire payment of the public debt should be effected. But that act had not given general satisfaction; for after its passage, the opposition in South Carolina to the system of high duties for the protection of manufactures had continued, and assumed an alarming character, as already related. The president did not, indeed, recommend a total repeal of the law in consequence of such opposition, but he expressed the opinion and desire that some compromise should be made; and

the law so modified as to be less exceptionable than it was with its present provisions. An act already referred to as proposed by Mr. Clay was accordingly passed by Congress, before its adjournment in March 1833, modifying, in some important points, the law of the previous session. It provided for the gradual reduction of the duties on imports, to take effect, in part, on the first of January, 1834; on the first of January, 1836; on the first of January, 1838; and on the first of January, 1840: in the following manner—from all duties, which exceeded twenty per cent. on the value of the imported goods or articles, one-tenth part of such excess should be deducted, at each of the said periods; and that on and after the first of January, 1842, one-half of the residue of such excess should be deducted, and the other half on and after the first of June, 1842.*

In his annual message in December 1832, the president recommended the removal of the public money from the United States Bank; but the committee of ways and means in the House reported a resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 109 to 46, declaring that the deposit, in the opinion of the House, might be safely continued in the Bank of the United States.

At the close of President Jackson's first term of service, the foreign relations of the United States, with the exception of those with France, were in a favourable position. The first instalment of the indemnity to be paid according to the treaty, by France,

* Bradford.

was drawn for, in a bill of exchange by the American government, but the French chambers had not made any appropriation to meet it, and the bill was not accepted. This neglect was warmly resented by the president. Instructions were given to the American minister to urge upon the French government a prompt compliance with the treaty. With Russia, a treaty of commerce was concluded in December, 1832, upon the principles of reciprocity. A similar treaty was made with Belgium. Some claims of American merchants against Portugal for illegal captures were prosecuted to a successful result, and an effort was made by the administration to procure satisfaction from Spain, for illegal detentions and captures of American property, subsequent to the treaty of 1819; and an acknowledgment of their justice was finally extorted from that government. A treaty of commerce was concluded with Chili.* The United States was in this favourable position at the close of Jackson's first term of service in March, 1833.

* Statesman's Manual, p. 1013.





CHAPTER XIX.

SECOND PRESIDENTIAL TERM.



IN the fourth of March, 1833, General Jackson assumed, for the second time, the responsible station of President of the United States. At 12 o'clock on that day, he, with the Vice President elect, attended by the heads of departments, Senators, Representatives, Judges of the Supreme Court, foreign ministers, and the municipal authorities of the city of Washington, entered the Hall of the Representatives. The president took his seat in the chair of the speaker of the House; the vice president elect, Martin Van Buren, occupying a seat

on his right, and his private secretary, Mr. Donelson, one on his left. As soon as silence was obtained, and every one had taken the station he wished to occupy during the impressive ceremony which was to follow, the president arose and delivered his second inaugural address.

He commenced by expressing his gratitude to the people of the United States for this renewed expression of their confidence in his good intentions, and then went on to notice the principal events which occurred during his previous administration, referring particularly to the position then occupied by the United States among the nations of the earth. He said, "The foreign policy adopted by our government, soon after the formation of our present constitution, and very generally pursued by successive administrations, has been crowned with almost complete success, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth. To do justice to all, and to submit to wrong from none, has been, during my administration, its governing maxim: and so happy have been its results, that we are not only at peace with all the world, but have few causes of controversy, and those of minor importance, remaining unadjusted.

"In the domestic policy of the government, there are two objects which especially deserve the attention of the people and their representatives, and which have been, and will continue to be, the subjects of my unceasing solicitude. They are the preservation of the rights of the several states, and the integrity of the Union. These great objects are necessarily connected, and can only be attained by an enlightened

exercise of the powers of each within its appropriate sphere, in conformity to the public will, constitutionally expressed. To this end, it becomes the duty of all to yield a ready and patriotic submission to the laws constitutionally enacted, and thereby promote and strengthen a proper confidence in those institutions of the several states and of the United States, which the people themselves have ordained for their own government."

In conformity with the obligations of the oath which he was about to take, he said, "I shall continue to exert all my faculties to maintain the just powers of the constitution, and to transmit unimpaired to posterity the blessings of our federal Union. At the same time, it will be my aim to inculcate, by my official acts, the necessity of exercising, by the general government, those powers only that are clearly delegated; to encourage simplicity and economy in the expenditures of the government; to raise no more money from the people than may be requisite for these objects, and in a manner that will best promote the interests of all classes of the community, and of all portions of the Union." He concluded his address, as he did all other important speeches and papers, by praying that the Creator and Governor of the world would so overrule all his intentions and actions, and inspire the hearts of his fellow-citizens, that they may be preserved from dangers of all kinds, and continue for ever a united and happy people.

The president pronounced this address in an audible, clear, and firm voice; and at its conclusion he was greeted with the cheers and applause of those

present. The usual oath was then administered by the chief justice to the president and vice president, after which they retired, receiving as they went the congratulations of the assembled multitude.

About two months afterwards, as the president was proceeding, by invitation, to assist in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the monument to the mother of Washington at Fredericksburg, an incident happened, which serves to illustrate the promptitude and decision of his character. As the steamboat stopped for a few moments at the wharf at Alexandria, several persons came on board, as was supposed, to pay their respects to the president. Among them was one named Randolph, who, seeing the president engaged in the cabin, and in such a position between the table and the berths that he could not instantly defend himself, advanced, and thrust his hand violently into Jackson's face. Before he could repeat the blow he was seized, by friend or foe it was impossible to determine which, and hurried off the boat, leaving his hat behind. In endeavouring to rise to repel this assault, the president broke down part of the table, and hurt his own side, which had before been racked with pain. In explaining the affair to the members of the cabinet and others in the cabin, Jackson said that had he known that Randolph stood before him, he should have been prepared for him, and have easily defended himself. "No villain," said he, "has ever escaped me before; and he would not, had it not been for my confined situation." A citizen of Alexandria, then addressing him, said: "Sir, if you will pardon me, in case I am tried and convicted, I

will kill Randolph, for this insult to you, in fifteen minutes." The president wisely and promptly replied, "No sir, I cannot do that. I want no man to stand between me and my assailants, and none to take revenge on my account. Had I been prepared for this *cowardly villain's* approach, I can assure you all, that he would never have the temerity to undertake such a thing again."*

The gloom occasioned by this outrage was not dispelled until the steamboat stopped opposite to Mount Vernon, and three ladies, descendants of Washington, and residents of Mount Vernon, came on board, and each of them presented to the president a bunch of flowers culled from the garden planted by the hands of the Father of his country. After assisting in laying the corner-stone of the monument, Jackson returned to Washington, whence every cause of dissension and disturbance seemed to have been banished; and the second term of his magistracy bid fair to be as quiet and calm as the first had been stormy and turbulent. This apparent calm was destined to be but of short duration; for in September, a new subject of excitement was introduced into politics, which continued to agitate the public mind until near the close of Jackson's administration.

On the 6th of June, 1833, the president started from Washington to visit the northern and eastern portion of the Union. He passed through Baltimore, Delaware and New Castle, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 8th of June. Throughout the whole route,

* New York Mirror.

at every town, village, and city, he was welcomed with lively demonstrations of respect. Landing at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, on Saturday afternoon, at five o'clock, he was welcomed with a national salute, and greeted with the cheers of an immense multitude who were assembled at every point from which a sight of him might be had. His whole course from the Navy Yard to the hotel, was lined with citizens of both sexes, who vied with each other in rendering honour to the chief magistrate of the Union.

“The public reception of the president at Philadelphia, took place on Monday. At an early hour the city was alive with the bustle of extensive preparation, and the streets through which the procession was to pass grew very populous as he approached. From nine until twelve o'clock, the president remained at the State House to receive the compliments of his fellow-citizens. At the latter hour he proceeded on horseback to Arch street, where he reviewed the military. The president was dressed in a suit of deep black, and passed along a great portion of the route with his hat off. The appearance of the military, who assembled in great numbers, was imposing and effective. Towards five o'clock the procession reached the City Hotel, and the president alighted, evidently gratified with a reception at once so respectful and so general.”*

Leaving Philadelphia, the president next visited Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, Lamberton, Trenton, Princeton, New Brunswick, Amboy, New York,

* Lincoln's Lives of the Presidents.

New Haven, Newport, Providence, Dedham, Roxbury, Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Lynn, Salem, Marblehead, Andover, and Lowell. The reception which he met with at each of these places, varied only with the number of inhabitants, or its wealth and importance. At Cambridge the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by the president of Harvard University.

Having reached Lowell on the 27th of June, he continued his route to Concord, N.H.; but there finding that his strength would not permit him to proceed any farther, though he had intended to visit Portland, he was under the necessity of giving up the journey, and returning to Washington.

It was soon after this northern tour that some changes were made in the cabinet. Louis M'Lane, the Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and Edward Livingston being appointed Minister to France, Mr. M'Lane was transferred to the State department, and William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, was appointed his successor.

The law of 1816, which created the United States Bank, required that the public moneys should be deposited in that bank, subject to be removed only by the secretary of the treasury; and requiring him, in that case, to lay his reasons for removing them before Congress. Congress had already refused to authorize the removal of the deposits, and the president was now determined to effect it on his own responsibility.

The new secretary of the treasury refusing to act in this matter, and resigning his office, the attorney-general, Roger B. Taney, was appointed in

his place. The vacancy in the cabinet was filled by the appointment of Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, as Attorney-General. Mr. Taney immediately issued the necessary orders for the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank; a measure which resulted from the president's determination to dissolve all connexion between the government and the bank.

The first session of the twenty-third Congress commenced on the 2d day of December, 1833, and continued to June 30th, 1834. One of the first acts of the Senate was the adoption of a resolution, by a vote of 26 to 20, declaring "that the president, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, had assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." This resolution remained on the journal until January 16th, 1837, when it was expunged by order of the Senate. The Senate next rejected the nomination of Roger B. Taney, as Secretary of the Treasury, and confirmed that of Levi Woodbury, appointed in his stead. Before the close of the session, Mr. M'Lane having resigned the office of Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia, was appointed to succeed him, and Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey, was appointed Secretary of the Navy, in the place of Mr. Woodbury.

The measures taken by the United States Bank, in consequence of the removal of the deposits, occasioned much embarrassment throughout the mercantile community, during the years 1834 and 1835. Committees appointed by the merchants, mechanics, and

tradesmen of the principal commercial cities solicited the president to replace the government deposits in the United States Bank. But the removal of the deposits having been dictated by his sense of public duty, it was found impossible to change his resolution. He was equally insensible to menace or entreaty. Many petitions were sent to Congress on the same subject. They were favourably received in the Senate; but the House of Representatives sustaining the president, they met with but little favour there.*

The twenty-third Congress convened for the second time, on the 1st of December, 1834, and continued in session until the 3d of March, 1835. In his sixth annual message, the president represented the state of the country as highly prosperous, and its future prospects in the highest degree flattering to every patriotic citizen. The state of the treasury at the close of the year he summed up as follows: "After satisfying every appropriation, and discharging the last item of our public debt, which will be done on the 1st of January next (one month after the delivery of the message), there will remain unexpended in the treasury, an effective balance of about four hundred and forty thousand dollars." He also called the attention of Congress to the delay of France in paying the first instalment of the indemnity which that nation had agreed to pay to the United States, for spoliations on American commerce; and recommended the passage of a law authorizing reprisals upon French property, in case provision should not be made for the payment

* *Statesman's Manual*, p. 1017.

of the debt at the session of the French Chambers which was to be convened on the 29th of December. The president, in a special message on the 25th of February, 1835, informed the Congress that he had deemed it his duty to instruct Mr. Livingston to quit France, with his legation, and return to the United States, if an appropriation for the fulfilment of the convention should be refused by the Chambers. The French king was disposed to construe the threat of Jackson to issue letters of marque and reprisal, in case of longer delay, into an insult, and it was intimated that an apology would be indispensable. To this the old hero replied, with characteristic emphasis: "The honour of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth and the performance of duty." The French minister at Washington had asked and received his passports—a war seemed to be near at hand, if not already determined upon—when all at once, and unexpectedly, the money was paid to the uttermost farthing, diplomatic courtesies restored, and peaceable relations re-established.* It was during this dispute with France, that an eloquent opponent of Jackson's administration said on the floor of Congress—"Sir, if the president will so temper his policy as to carry this country honourably through the controversy without a war, he will draw upon his head the blessings of men whose voices have never mingled with the incense of his flatterers; and his name, in the eyes of all mankind, will appear fairer and brighter than when he came out of the blazing lines of New Orleans,

* Harris.

in all the freshness of his victory and its honours." The war *was* averted, and the honour of the country was preserved without a stain or a spot on its shield; and the hope and prediction of eloquence were both realized together. The most chivalrous of nations retired from her position. The irresistible policy of justice averted all peril from the Union, and added new titles of renown to the fame of its venerable chief; and the blessings of the generation who witnessed the bravery of his resolution, and of the generation who mourn his death, have flowed, and will flow, continually in an unbroken stream upon his head.*

On the 30th of January, 1835, an attempt was made to take the life of the president, under the following circumstances. One of the representatives from South Carolina, Warren R. Davis, having died at the capital, the honour of a public funeral was decreed to him. Accordingly, the president, heads of departments, and the members of both houses of Congress assembled in the rotunda of the capitol, where a funeral sermon was preached, preparatory to the procession, and consignment of the body to the dust. At the conclusion of the sermon, the president, with the secretary of the treasury on his left arm, was retiring from the rotunda to reach his carriage at the steps of the portico, when he was fired at, from behind one of the columns of the portico, at a distance of less than eight feet. The percussion cap exploded with such a noise, that several persons supposed that the pistol had been discharged. It was not so, however.

*Merrick.



Attempt on General Jackson's life.

The assassin immediately dropped the pistol from his right hand, and, taking another, ready cocked, from his left, presented and snapped it at the president, who, at the moment of the first attempt, had raised his cane, and was rushing upon him, when his second attempt failing, he ran to make his escape through the crowd. The president pressed after him with his up-lifted cane until he saw him secured. When the load was drawn from one of the pistols, it was found to contain a ball, of which about sixty would make a pound. It was well patched, and forced down tight, on a full charge of excellent glazed powder. How the caps could have exploded without firing the powder, may be considered wonderful. Providence has ever guarded the life of the man who was destined to raise

and preserve his country's glory. The assassin confessed his intention to take the life of General Jackson, denied that he had any accomplices, and was suffered to escape punishment on the ground of apparent insanity. It is considered very doubtful, however, whether the man was really insane.

In May, William T. Barry was appointed Minister to Spain, and Amos Kendall Postmaster-General, in his place. The appointment of Mr. Kendall was not confirmed until 1836.

The first session of the twenty-fourth Congress commenced on the 7th of December, 1835, and continued until the 4th of July, 1836. The president's seventh annual message represented the country in a flourishing condition, the public debt extinguished, and a large surplus in the treasury.

The principal acts passed at this session of Congress were—the distribution act, providing that the money which should be remaining in the treasury on the 1st day of January, 1837, reserving the sum of five millions of dollars, should be distributed among such of the states, in proportion to their respective numbers, as should by law accept of the same, the distribution to be made quarterly, commencing on the 1st of January, 1837; an act relating to patents, repealing all previous acts on the same subject; an act admitting Michigan into the Union, on certain conditions, which were accepted in the following year; an act admitting the state of Arkansas into the Union; and an act making appropriations for continuing the Cumberland Road, and the improvement of certain harbours and rivers. The president vetoed

an act fixing the day of meeting and adjournment of Congress.

The Senate confirmed the president's nomination of Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, in place of Chief Justice Marshall, deceased; and of John H. Eaton, Minister to Spain, in place of Mr. Barry, deceased.

After the adjournment of Congress, the secretary of the treasury issued a circular by order of the president, directing the receivers of public moneys to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment for public lands, except Virginia land scrip in certain cases. The immediate effect of this circular was to divert the specie of the country from its ordinary course, and to embarrass commercial operations. It accomplished the president's purpose of checking speculation in the public lands, and in this way proved highly salutary; but as considerable inconvenience and loss to individuals were occasioned by it on its first promulgation, complaints were proportionally loud against the measure.

The second session of the 24th Congress commenced on the 5th of December, 1836, and continued until the 3d of March, 1837. It was at this session that the celebrated expunging resolution, introduced by Mr. Benton, was passed, by which the censure of the Senate on the course pursued by the president in the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, was expunged from the journal. This was done by drawing black lines around the resolution, and writing in strong characters across it, "Ex-

punged, by order of the Senate, this 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1837."

In his last annual message, the president informed Congress that the claims of the United States upon Mexico had not been adjusted, and in a special message, dated February 6th, 1837, in relation to the same subject, he said:—"The length of time since some of the injuries (complained of) have been committed, the repeated and unavailing applications for redress, the wanton character of some of the outrages upon the property and persons of our citizens, upon the officers and flag of the United States, independent of recent insults to this government and people by the late extraordinary Mexican minister, would justify, in the eyes of all nations, immediate war. That remedy, however, should not be used, by just and generous nations confiding in their strength, for injuries committed, if it can be honourably avoided; and it has occurred to me that, considering the present embarrassed condition of that country, we should act with both wisdom and moderation, by giving to Mexico one more opportunity to atone for the past, before we take redress into our own hands. To avoid all misconception on the part of Mexico, as well as protect our own national character from reproach, this opportunity should be given with the avowed design and full preparation to take immediate satisfaction, if it should not be obtained on a repetition of the demand for it. To this end I recommend that an act be passed, authorizing reprisals, and the use of the naval force of the United States by the executive against Mexico to enforce them, in the event

of a refusal by the Mexican government to come to an amicable adjustment of the matters in controversy between us, upon another demand thereof made from on board one of our vessels of war on the coast of Mexico."

An act was passed by Congress at this session, relating to the treasury circular, providing for the reception of the notes of specie-paying banks, in some cases, by the receivers of public moneys, and it was sent to the president for his approval on the afternoon of the 2d of March. He prevented it from becoming a law by retaining it in his hands until after the adjournment of Congress the next day, and this informal but resolute veto was the last act of President Jackson's administration. He published his reasons for retaining it, in a paper dated "Washington, March 3d, 1837, 1-4 before 12 P. M." His principal reasons were want of time properly to consider it, and the complexity and uncertainty of its provisions.

The election held in the autumn of 1836 for President and Vice President, resulted as follows :

For President, Martin Van Buren received 170 votes, William H. Harrison 73, Hugh L. White 26, Daniel Webster 14, Willie P. Mangum 11 ; giving Van Buren a majority of 46 votes.

For Vice President, Richard M. Johnson received 147 votes, Francis Granger 77, John Tyler 47, William Smith 23.

The votes were counted in Congress in February, 1837, and Martin Van Buren was declared duly elected president. No person having a majority of

electoral votes for the office of vice president, the choice devolved upon the Senate, who, at the first ballot, elected Richard M. Johnson, by a vote of 33 to 16.

On the 3d of March, 1837, President Jackson published his farewell address to the people of the United States, on his retirement to private life. This paper is second only to that of General Washington, and its great length alone prevents us from giving it entire. To attempt a synopsis or condensation of it, would be presumptuous and useless.

General Jackson remained at Washington to witness the inauguration of his friend and successor, Mr. Van Buren, when he finally retired to the Hermitage, determined to spend the remainder of his active and useful life in retirement.

The events of the administration of President Jackson have been so recent, some of them not having yet been fully developed, (as, for instance, his course in relation to Mexico,) and their character and tendency are so much involved in the partisan discussions of the present day, that historical comment on them is premature. The policy of an administration can only be tried by its effects; and the effects, great and permanent, flowing from the efforts of Jackson, are not yet fully known. Public opinion, with respect to some of his principal acts, even those most condemned at the time of their occurrence, is rapidly undergoing a great change, and it is yet impossible to judge correctly of the ultimate effects of his labours.



CHAPTER XX.

LAST DAYS OF JACKSON.



AFTER the inauguration of Mr. Van Buren, General Jackson immediately left the seat of government, to proceed to the Hermitage. As he rode from the President's House to the car office, the population of the city, and the masses who had gathered from around, followed his carriage in crowds. All in silence stood near him, to

bid him adieu; and as the cars started, and he displayed his gray hairs, on lifting his hat in token of farewell, they stood with their heads uncovered, too full of emotion to speak, in solemn silence gazing on him as he departed, never more to be seen in their midst.*

With a popularity surpassed only by that which was carried to Mount Vernon by the Father of his country, he returned to the Hermitage, at the age of three score and ten—ripe with honours and laden with the blessings of his countrymen.

His last eight years, though passed in retirement, are, perhaps, more interesting in many respects than those which precede them—but, in almost every incident of his life since the maturity of his manhood, we behold a text wherefrom may be illustrated a most exemplary specimen of human character.

The mighty power of his opinions upon important public questions, in the evening of his life, while quietly reposing at the Hermitage, far away from the seat of government, is the crowning evidence of his goodness and greatness. His late letters and earlier state papers will always stand forth as landmarks to the paths of honour and safety, equal, if not superior, in their prominence to those of Jefferson. They will be consulted as the oracles of political faith; and for ages and ages after the hand that traced them has crumbled to its native dust, their vigour and their freshness will be unimpaired.

Andrew Jackson never occupied a doubtful position upon any question. A decided and substantive char-

* Bancroft.

acter, his friends and his enemies always knew where to find him. If his countrymen sought his opinion, they had it in plain terms, few words. It was received as that of a true patriot, having had great experience, one whom they had known long and watched closely, and one whom they regarded as being more replete with "sober second thought, never wrong, and always efficient," than any man living. If they were bewildered with doubt; if the turmoil of party collisions aroused their apprehensions for the safety of the republic, his abiding confidence in the virtue and intelligence of his countrymen was received as "the inspiration of his instinctive wisdom," which has been likened to "prophecy."

It is not wonderful that such a man should have had such an influence with such a people. Gradually rising from the humbler walks of life to the most exalted stations on earth, he knew the wants, feelings, and sympathies of all classes, all conditions; and his countrymen were to him as the equal members of the same great family associated for their common benefit. Hence, his influence upon public opinion was necessarily great; and if he used it in accordance with his solid judgment, who shall have the temerity to say he was a dictator? In the heat of partisan excitement, the charge has often been preferred; but thanks to the just and discriminating spirit of our fellow-citizens, it has been as often refuted to the satisfaction of the world. The dictator holds to principles adverse to those of his people, and enforces obedience. Jackson's principles were those which the popular interests reflected, and with which his own interests, as a citi-

zen, were identified in every respect. Instead of compelling the masses of the people to coincide with him, he foresaw their inclination, and coincided with them as their champion.

No man was ever further from a desire to control the volitions of his countrymen against their will—no one was ever less obnoxious to the charge of dictation. It was but a few days before his death, that a citizen called upon him for his signature to a petition for an office, when he replied: “No, no, I cannot do it; for they will say I am dictating to the president.”

Within the last few years, his opinions, on all great questions dividing public sentiment, have been sought with avidity. When he spoke by letter, his voice was heard to the remotest parts of the republic, and not unfrequently throughout the civilized world. Nor can the fact be disguised that his letters on the annexation of Texas to our territory, constituted the great and powerful lever by which that glorious measure was launched upon the tide of success. They excited the jealousy of England, if not the envy of the entire Holy Alliance; but they revived and strengthened the waning hopes of Texas, and made glad the hearts of its people.

A distinguished Texan says, that at a moment when his country had almost despaired of establishing a reunion, when they were going deeper and deeper into debt to maintain the necessary defences of their frontier, and were nearly driven to entertain propositions for protective alliances with other nations, General Jackson was writing to his own countrymen that it was “the golden moment” for annexation, and

exhorting his friends in Texas to take courage, for the time would come, and that speedily, when the American people would *demand* annexation at the hands of their government.

The time came. He lived to hear the demand which he had previously predicted. The work is done—and although the venerable patriot did not last until its consummation, yet, thanks to an indulgent Providence, he was spared long enough to see the end with certainty, and to exclaim, as he did in one of his last letters—“ALL IS SAFE!”*

During the earnest canvass which terminated in the election of Mr. Polk, General Jackson took a lively interest in the progress of affairs, and frequently expressed his approbation of the policy of annexing Texas, which formed one of the test questions upon which that election turned.

No man could maintain this position in either of the two great parties, without being a man of commanding intellect. Men bow not down to their inferiors in mind; and yet, long after Jackson had retired from political life, in every emergency, and in every trial, all eyes ever turned to the Hermitage, and every ear listened with veneration and respect to the words of wisdom, of counsel, and of warning, addressed to his countrymen; and even now, in the estimation of mankind, as a sage he holds a place, second to none, not even unto him of Monticello.†

But he who had occupied so important a page in his country's history, who had possessed a popularity

* Irvin.

† Harris.



James K. Polk.

and influence exceeded only by Washington, who had filled every high station of dignity and trust which his country could confer, both civil and military, became, when in the domestic circle and around the social hearth, as simple as a child, distinguished by the suavity of his deportment and an intuitive felicity of making every one around him happy. Such was Andrew Jackson, in private life; and it is there that true greatness waits to be exhibited. In the world men rise superior to each other, but it is here that

man rises superior to himself. The region of politics, at best, is baneful; and too often "the soil the *vices* like."

In his private attachments, he was governed by the same steadiness that sustained his public conduct. His friendships were, therefore, sincere and fixed. If he loved you to-day, he would love you still more to-morrow, the next day, and for ever, provided you did nothing to forfeit his regard and good opinion. Although, in a character marked by such strength of features, the lineaments of the softer virtues could scarcely be expected to mix, yet those who knew him best in private life, and in the unbendings of retirement, knew the genuine indications of their existence, and the childlike simplicity and tenderness of his nature.*

But weighty and instant as are the duties of a citizen to his country, and of a patriarch to his family, Andrew Jackson remembered that he owed to his Maker a higher and more solemn responsibility. This sentiment had been implanted in his youthful breast by a mother's lessons and a mother's love. It had been nourished by the example of a wife—one of the excellent of the earth; by providential deliverances and favours; by the perusal of the Book of God, and by the instructions of the pulpit. As in earlier life he was the brave and dauntless soldier in defence of his country's rights, so he became the brave and dauntless soldier of the cross. From his childhood he had revered Christianity, and after dwelt with

* Stevenson.

grateful emotions on the tender and prayerful solicitude of his pious mother, during his boyhood, for his spiritual welfare. And even in the turbulent and boisterous periods of his career, when all his energies were concentrated in the conduct of sanguinary British and Indian wars, although vehement and impetuous of spirit, the purest religious feelings animated his heart and shaped his inclinations. There is not in our language a more beautiful form of prayer and thanksgiving than is contained in a portion of his congratulatory and farewell address to his soldiers at New Orleans, after the battle of the eighth—meekly giving all the glory of the victory to the God of battles, in whom he had put his trust. I have heard an old warrior against the Indians say, that on the eve of one of the most deadly conflicts in the Creek nation, when they were on watch for the enemy, whom they knew to be near, and when an order had been given that there should be no unnecessary noise in camp, one of the guard approached the general and complained that a soldier was praying unnecessarily loud. “God forbid,” said he, that “*praying* should be considered an *unnecessary noise* in *my* camp.” These feelings ripened with age into a firmly settled conviction and conversion; and for the last eight years of his life, he who had led and directed his countrymen on so many well fought fields, who had humbled the proud British lion upon our southwestern shore, and sent him howling home to his sea-girt den—who had wrung the unwilling acknowledgment of our country’s rights from the crowned heads of Europe might be seen upon the Sabbath, when

his health would permit, bowing with his neighbourhood circle in deep humility and humble adoration before the little altar which he had caused to be placed a short distance from his house, devotedly and sincerely partaking of the sacred emblems of faith. I witnessed this—but I witnessed no richly embroidered carpets on which to kneel—no gorgeous purples in which to robe the chief—no pomp—no parade—no insignia of superiority or power, like those which glitter within the royal chapels of princesses and potentates. All was plainness, simplicity, piety, Christian purity. He fostered that little church with a father's solicitude and protection; and one of his last wishes was that it might be sustained for ever.*

He was a Christian, as he was everything else, decidedly and wholly. No important interest of Christianity seems to have been overlooked by him. The Bible, the Sabbath, and the Sunday School, all received the hearty approval and commendation of Andrew Jackson. Of the word of God, he said:—“*The Bible is true.* Upon that sacred volume, I rest my hope of eternal salvation, through the merits and blood of our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.” His old Bible, thumbed and worn by constant use, he held up in his right hand, and said to Doctor Edgar: “This book, sir, is the bulwark of our republican institutions, the anchor of our present and future safety.” Remember the sentiment, American Republicans: I will repeat it. It is a voice that comes to us on the wings of the sighing winds from the far off

* Harris.

Hermitage: "*This book, sir, is the bulwark of our republican institutions, the anchor of our present and future safety.*" It is said his Bible was ever by his side. Like the pillar of the cloud, the symbol of Jehovah's covenant with Israel in the wilderness, it was moved when he moved, it rested where he rested.

As the light of the Sabbath broke over his earthly habitation, he remarked, "This day is the holy Sabbath ordained by God, and set apart to be devoted to his worship and praise. I always attended service at church when I could, but now I can go no more."

He charged his family to continue the instruction of the poor at the Sabbath school. This new system of instruction, he said, which blended the duties of religion with those of humanity, he considered as of vast importance. He seemed anxious to impress the family with these sentiments. And in his last moments, two of his grandchildren were sent for from the Sabbath school to receive his blessing.

Here was the full-souled and intelligent Christian. He made the Bible the rule of faith and practice. He made the Bible the foundation of the liberties of his country. Observance of the holy Sabbath day, attendance upon the services of the sanctuary, and the religious education of the young, were all inculcated by precept and practice. These are the sentiments, my countrymen, that I would have you treasure up in your hearts, and exemplify in your lives. What a testimony have we from the lips of Andrew Jackson, to the truth of our holy religion. *He was great because he was good !**

* Lore.

During General Jackson's retirement, a motion was made in Congress to approve the declaration of martial law by him, while in command of the army at New Orleans, by refunding the fine with interest. During the delay occasioned by a vigorous opposition, the state of Louisiana passed an act pledging itself to refund it in the event of the failure of the motion in Congress. But it did not fail. That which had been so magnanimously paid by him, was with corresponding magnanimity refunded by a special law of his country—and he was often heard to say, that he accepted it, not so much for the sake of the amount, as *that the resolutions of Congress entirely annihilating every vestige of imputation upon his conduct at New Orleans, might be fulfilled to all intents and purposes.**

Less than three months before his death, Andrew Jackson received a letter from Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, with the offer of a sarcophagus, which had been obtained in Palestine, brought to the United States in the frigate Constitution, and was believed to have contained the remains of the Roman emperor, Alexander Severus. The commodore's letter concluded in these words: "I pray you, General, to live on in the fear of the Lord; dying the death of a Roman soldier; an emperor's coffin awaits you."

The answer of Jackson to this letter was so characteristic of the man, that we have taken the liberty to transcribe it entire.

*Harris.

Hermitage, March 27th, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 18th instant, together with the copy of the proceedings of the National Institute, furnished me by their corresponding secretary, on the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus for their acceptance on condition it shall be preserved in honour of my memory, have been received, and are now before me.

Although labouring under great debility and affliction, from a severe attack from which I may not recover, I raise my pen and endeavour to reply. The steadiness of my nerves may perhaps lead you to conclude my prostration of strength is not so great as is here expressed. Strange as it may appear, my nerves are as steady as they were forty years gone by; whilst, from debility and affliction, I am gasping for breath.

I have read the whole proceedings of the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus, and the resolutions passed by the board of directors, so honourable to my fame, with sensations and feelings more easily to be conjectured than by me expressed. The whole proceedings call for my most grateful thanks, which are hereby tendered to you, and through you to the president and directors of the National Institute. But with the warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honour intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of government forbids it. Every monument erected to perpetuate the memory of our heroes and statesmen ought to bear evidence

of the economy and simplicity of our republican institutions, and the plainness of our republican citizens, who are the sovereigns of our glorious Union, and whose virtue it is to perpetuate it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions; it can only dwell with the people—the great labouring and producing classes that form the bone and sinew of our confederacy.

For these reasons I cannot accept the honour you and the president and directors of the National Institute intended to bestow. I cannot permit my remains to be the first in these United States to be deposited in a sarcophagus made for an emperor or king. I again repeat, please accept for yourself, and convey to the president and directors of the National Institute, my most profound respects for the honour you and they intended to bestow. I have prepared an humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without any pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid; for both of us there to remain until the last trump sounds to call the dead to judgment, when we, I hope, shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all who believe in our glorious Redeemer, who died for us that we might live, and by whose atonement I hope for a blessed immortality.

I am, with great respect,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

ANDREW JACKSON.

To Com. J. D. ELLIOTT, United States Navy.

This was the answer of Christian meekness, of republican simplicity, of American patriotism. Such an answer as might have been expected by one who knew the character of Jackson.

The last will and testament of Andrew Jackson, made on the 7th of June, 1843, will be found to illustrate, in a remarkable manner, his purity, patriotism, affection and chivalry; and as it is a matter of record in the county court of Davidson county, Tennessee, there can be no impropriety in referring to it here. The will is written in his own plain and steady hand, and the exact language of the instrument is preserved in the extracts which we make from it.

"I bequeath," it says, "my body to the dust, whence it comes, and my soul to God, who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world. My desire is, that my body be buried by the side of my dear departed wife, in the garden at the Hermitage, in the vault prepared in the garden, and all expenses paid by my executor hereafter named."

After bestowing his entire estate upon his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, junior, with the exception of a few presents thereafter to be named, he proceeds:

"I bequeath to my beloved nephew, Andrew J. Donelson, son of Samuel Donelson, deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee, with this injunction, that he fail not to use it when necessary in support and protection of our glorious Union, and for the protection of the constitutional rights of our beloved country, should they be assailed by foreign enemies or domestic traitors.

This, from the great change in my worldly affairs of late, is, with my blessing, all I can bequeath him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible. This bequest is made as a memento of my high regard, affection, and esteem I bear for him, as a high-minded, honest, and honorable man.

“To my grandnephew, Andrew Jackson Coffee, I bequeath the elegant sword presented to me by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, commanded by Captain Beal, as a memento of my regard, and to bring to his recollection the gallant services of his deceased father, General John Coffee, in the late Indian and British war, under my command, and his gallant conduct in defence of New Orleans in 1814 and 1815; with this injunction, that he wield it in the protection of the rights secured to the American citizen under our glorious constitution, against all invaders, whether foreign foes or intestine traitors.

“I bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of Andrew Jackson, junior, and Sarah his wife, the sword presented me by the citizens of Philadelphia, with this injunction, that he will always use it in defence of the constitution and our glorious wisdom, and the perpetuation of our republican system; remembering the motto—‘Draw me not without occasion nor sheath me without honour.’

“The pistols of General Lafayette, which were presented by him to General George Washington, and by Colonel William Robertson presented to me, I bequeath to George Washington Lafayette, as a memento of the illustrious personages through whose

hands they have passed—*his father, and the father of his country.*

“The gold box presented to me by the corporation of the City of New York, the large silver vase presented to me by the ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, my native state, with the large picture representing the unfurling of the American banner, presented to me by the citizens of South Carolina when it was refused to be accepted by the United States Senate, I leave in trust to my son A. Jackson, junior, with directions that should our happy country not be blessed with peace, an event not always to be expected, he will at the close of the war or end of the conflict, present each of said articles of inestimable value, to that patriot residing in the city or state from which they were presented, who shall be adjudged by his countrymen or the ladies, to have been the most valiant in defence of his country and our country’s rights.

“The pocket spy-glass which was used by General Washington during the revolutionary war, and presented to me by Mr. Custis, having been burned with my dwelling-house, the Hermitage, with many other invaluable relics, I can make no disposition of them.

“As a memento of my high regard for General Robert Armstrong as a gentleman, patriot, and soldier, as well as for his meritorious military services under my command during the late British and Indian war, and remembering the gallant bearing of him and his gallant little band at Enotochopco Creek, when, falling desperately wounded, he called out—“My brave fellows, some may fall, but save the cannon”—as a memento of all these things, I give and bequeath to

him my case of pistols and sword worn by me throughout my military career, well satisfied that in his hands they will never be disgraced—that they will never be used or drawn without occasion, nor sheathed but with honour.”

How beautiful the injunctions which accompany the bequests of the dying patriot! He had preserved his own sword pure and insullied; he had guarded the stainless emblems of a nation’s gratitude as a priceless treasure; and when he was approached by the great earthly conqueror of all mankind, he gracefully surrendered them into chosen hands, with a prayer and command that they should never be dishonoured.

Nor was he thoughtless of her who had watched his bedside for years. In recognising and confirming a marriage gift to the wife of his adopted son, he said, “This gift and bequest is made as a token of my great affection for her, a memento of her uniform attention to me, and kindness on all occasions. When worn down with sickness, pain, and debility, she has been more than a daughter to me, and I hope that she will never be disturbed by any one in the enjoyment of this gift and bequest.”*

But let us hasten on to the closing scene—the last hour of this great man. That courage which battle could not intimidate—that fortitude which civil commotions could not shake, have now to be tried in another scene. That frame, that not fatigue, nor exposure, nor hunger could bend, worn by age and disease, is now bending over the grave. Time has

* Harris.

wrought its ends, and he is ripe for immortality. Behold the man, who has served his country, and served his God. He has no fears, no misgivings; calmly he looks back on a well-spent life, joyfully reaches forward with hope, to a blissful immortality.

When asked by a friend, "what course would he pursue, were he permitted to live his life over again"—with a majestic tone of voice, says that friend, he calmly but emphatically replied, "*Sir, I would not accept the boon if it were offered to me.*" His whole countenance, continues that friend, became suddenly illuminated; his keen, piercing eye, fixed on vacancy, appeared to be contemplating the beautiful scenes of a distant world, as they gradually developed themselves to his view. Delightful thought! Beholding with the eye of faith the beautiful fields, the radiant beings, and the never clouded sun of that spiritual world to which he is hastening, he would not exchange the prospect and the hope of its enjoyment, for another glorious life like his on earth. Heaven grant that in the dying hour our faith may be like his!

It is a beautiful summer Sabbath morning! the 8th of June, 1845. Silence reigns all around, while anxious countenances behold the death-stricken face of the dying sage. He faints, and is supposed to be dead, but revives; and, propped up in his arm chair, with his family all around him, he said, "My dear children, do not grieve for me; it is true I am going to leave you; I am well aware of my situation; I have suffered much bodily pain; but my sufferings are as nothing, compared with that which our blessed Saviour endured

upon that accursed cross, that they might all be saved who put their trust in him." He then took them by the hand, one by one, and saying some words of tenderness to each, bade them farewell. The little children he had brought to him, his grandchildren, and the children of his wife's sister; those who were absent at Sabbath school, were sent for. He then kissed them, and blessed them in a manner so touchingly impressive, that language cannot describe it. Seeing his servants anxiously pressing about the doors and windows of his chamber, that they might behold for the last time his living countenance, he took leave of them also. He then spoke for half an hour, and apparently with the power of inspiration; for he spoke with calmness, with strength, and with animation. His implicit belief in the Christian religion, and in the plan of salvation as revealed in the Bible—his great anxiety that they should believe in religion, as taught by the Holy Scriptures; and that, in so doing, they might insure their eternal salvation, and join him in Heaven—made the words that fell from his lips deeply impressive, awfully sublime. In conclusion, he said, "My children, and friends, and servants, I hope and trust to meet you all in Heaven, both white and black." Looking with tender solicitude upon his servants, he repeated, "*both white and black.*" These were his last words; with them he ceased to speak. The body calmly sunk into the arms of death, while the immortal spirit, clothed in celestial garments, rose triumphant over death and the grave, and ascended, amid a choir of shouting angels, into the Paradise above. Ministers

may preach, divines may write, but the dying example of such a man is worth more than all.*

Thus lived, thus died Andrew Jackson; great in war, great in peace, triumphant in death. "Socrates died like a philosopher;" but it was the happier lot of Jackson to die like a Christian. Fit consummation to a life like his. Devoted for nearly eighty years to the cause of the republic, his dying breath bears witness to the truth of that religion on which alone the republic can safely found its institutions. His life is its own best monument—his own best eulogy. It sprang from the dark valley of obscurity, like the peaks of his favourite Alleghanies from the valleys of the west, into the sight and the admiration of a world; rough, rugged, and sublime, piercing through every cloud, it towered aloft till its summit was bathed in the light of Heaven.†

The news of the death of Andrew Jackson spread a pall over the whole nation. Throughout all our vast country was heard the voice of mourning—a nation grieving for a loved and honoured son. The people in all its cities, towns, villages, and hamlets, spontaneously gathered together to do honour to the memory of the departed hero and patriot. Men of all parties, and of all grades, pursuits, and occupations, united on that solemn occasion. All were sensible that the shaft of death had reached an illustrious mark, and had removed from the connexions of this earth one, who, for a long series of years, had been intimately associated in their minds with some of the

* Garland.

† Bolles.

most brilliant eras in the annals of the country, and one who had long been regarded by a large proportion of the people with the highest degree of veneration and esteem. A united people attended as mourners at his funeral. They consigned his mortal remains to the tomb of his own choice, beneath the green soil of the land he loved so well, and by the side of the beloved partner of his domestic joys and sorrows, who had preceded him in death. There they will rest in honoured repose, until the archangel's trump shall sound the summons to an everlasting resurrection. But the memory of his illustrious deeds will live—they will be familiar to the ears of unborn millions; and in future ages, his example and his counsels will continue to exert a beneficial influence over the destinies of his beloved country.*

To the youth of our country, the example of Jackson is invaluable. His life containing and illustrating a moral lesson, imposing as it is grand, is a volume written in letters of gold, and establishes a precedent for imitation, that is beyond price. It points to the great highway of fame and distinction—it tells him that the man who honestly serves his country, in whatever position it may be his fortune to be cast, will as surely bring down upon him the gratitude of that country, as the fulfilment of prophecy. In this land of equal rights, the humblest youth, with honesty, talents, and perseverance to recommend him, enjoys the same opportunities with the high born and the wealthy, for political honours. The first blow at

* Smith.

Lexington, in the revolutionary struggle, not only knocked to atoms the bonds and fetters of Great Britain, but also all the orders and titles of nobility—leveled the political condition of the American colonies to a common standard, and made merit, in the place of hereditary fortune, the republican test. Who would have even conjectured, at that early day, that a young man of the tender age of fourteen years, a captive in the British camp, but who had the courage and bravery, unarmed, to face the same weapon which had already drunk the blood of an only brother, rather than stoop to the menial service of becoming the boot-black of an English officer—would be at the head of the grandest government on the face of the earth? An orphan child, unprotected, without friends, without influence. It is this trait in the features of a popular government, that truly makes it the *grandest* in the world. In following the course of that young man, we have seen him, when the war was over, pursuing the profession of law—representing his state in the nation's councils—upon the bench—again, at the head of the American troops, pushing on to glorious victory—and finally, the chief executive officer of the United States of America. What a theme for contemplation—what a subject for thought! Let the young man who is ambitious for durable fame, read and reflect upon the noble example which he will find in the life of Andrew Jackson. Let him believe that the gigantic obstacles that lie between him and the summit of his hopes and anticipations, will vanish like snowflakes beneath the rays of the sun, by labour, temperance, perseverance, and virtue.

There is no ordinary obstacle that can thwart or defeat a well directed and prudent ambition—momentary it may be, but the courage and determination of the human heart are not easily foiled; and when a point is fixed in the distance, it is almost invariably attained. The life of Andrew Jackson is full proof of this position, and the experience of every day life confirms it.

The American presidents were all “self made men”—by perseverance they were elevated to a point of political prominence, which is above and beyond all others. Let the proud motto of our flag be engraved upon the heart of American youth: “Virtue, Liberty, and Independence,” and the perpetuity of that government which our ancestors regarded as an “experiment,” will be certain. And the illustrious hero of New Orleans, by his acts and deeds—by his habits and conduct, has been among the foremost of those who have given a character and tone to our country, that have placed her high upon the great scroll of nations. Let those who could share his honours imitate his example.*

Though it was no holiday affair, says Mr. Woodbury, who knew Jackson well, to fill office as he filled it, whether looking to himself or those around him—though requiring, as well as practising, all the watchfulness of an Indian ambuscade, all the vigour, at times, of a forced march to surprise an enemy, all the zeal of a missionary of the Cross, yet his active temperament or military training, apparently so in-

* Wright.

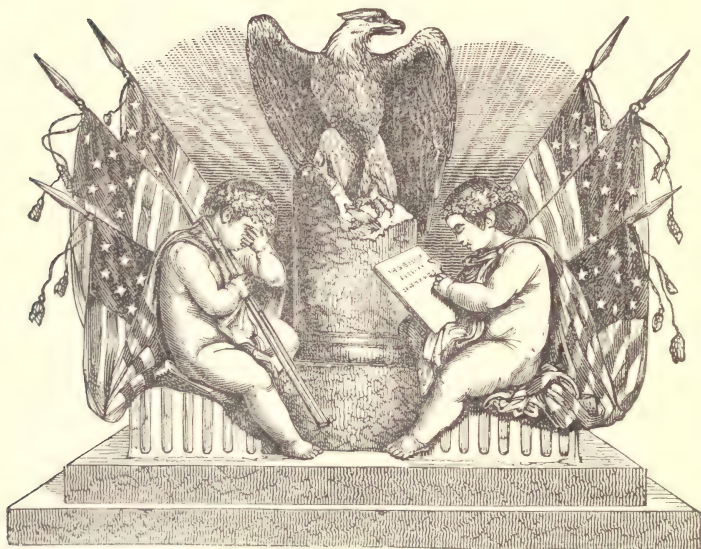
convenient to others, was mixed up with a courtesy of manner and kindly consideration of what was due to real infirmity; so that in nothing was he more striking than in all the feelings of a gentleman. He had been formed in that Revolutionary school of politics which added the politeness of the French to the solidity of the English, or the manner of the La Fayettees and Rochambeaus to the strength and intelligence of the Burgoynes and Cornwallises. He exacted nothing which he did not reciprocate; he respected in others all that he asked for himself; and every candid observer soon felt that, however severe his course may at times have seemed at first, yet, in the end, he carried out only that Chesterfieldian as well as Christian injunction, *to do to others as you would be done by*.

Such was his ease in general society, and so delicate his attentions to female excellence, that many, who never met him elsewhere, concluded at once he was more of a courtier, or man of the world, than suited for the conflicts of camps, and parties, and affairs of state. But nothing was farther from truth. The moment over, that had been demanded by social usages or the forms of fashion, his whole soul was in his business; and nothing personal or amusing could ever tempt him into the slightest neglect or abandonment of public duty. Never was he bigoted or exclusive in anything. He was public-spirited in all; nor did any Vandal spirit, however imputed, ever mark his opinions or deeds, even in the fiercest ravages of war or the bitterest excitement of politics; and however the great exigencies of public life may

have forced him at times into action and responsibility when others doubted or halted, all his risks were for his country; all the dangers braved were intended to protect the people and the public safety.

That he should have been infallible in all this, none pretend; but that he meant well, and, in the main, did well, and as a whole performed noble service to his country, none can deny. If to err is human, then, if the light of the sun itself be not without some shades intermingled—can we, taking him all in all, be otherwise than proud of his rank as a man, a soldier and a statesman? Whether on the Thames or the Ganges—under the tent of the Arab or in marble palaces, it is a distinction to be known as one of his countrymen. Compared with the renowned of other ages and other continents, all America may justly boast of him as a production creditable to the New World. Humanity itself becomes dignified, when man lives up to the height of his powers and his destiny. Though some have regarded him as only a meteor in our horizon, yet so far from that, he will live as a fixed star in history—one of the master minds of the age, carefully formed and practical in his efforts, and worthy the pages of future Plutarchs for many generations to come. The justice of this conclusion will strike us more forcibly, if we notice the contrast between his course and that of many inscribed high on the rolls of past ages; his whole life devoted to defend the liberties of his country, rather than like others to break them down; the passion of his heart to uphold rather than to overturn its constitution and laws; friends and power risked to preserve

unimpaired the sacred ties of its union, the sceptre of state relinquished, and, like the humblest citizen, retiring to his farm, instead of striving, like many, to usurp authority, or prolong the pomp and pageantry of office. In fine, he neither enriched himself by plunder or peculation, nor engrossed office for his family, nor waged a moment's war for ambition or conquest; nor exercised a single new power, nor betrayed an old one, nor filled station an hour but from the will of the people, or in conformity to the charter of their liberties.



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